
**14th CONGRESS
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

PRAGUE, 1971

THE SPEECHES AND RESOLUTION
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(May 24th — 29th, 1971)



ORBIS, PRAGUE, 1971

Ludvík Svoboda,
Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

INAUGURAL SPEECH

Comrades, delegates,
Dear guests!

I have been accorded a great honour and given the pleasant tasks of opening the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz).

This Congress is an important milestone in the life of our Party, all our people, our socialist Republic.

It is with pride that we now recall the fifty years' illustrious history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The 14th Congress symbolizes the fact that our Party has advanced victoriously, in a Leninist manner, along a path of struggle in the interests of the working class and all our working people.

Our Congress will assess the period since the 13th Congress and thereby bring this complicated stage of development to a close. It marks the successful culmination of the exacting and selfless work done since April 1969.

In the course of the past two years, the Central Committee headed by Comrade Husák has accomplished a great amount of work. We have overcome the chaos in politics and the economy, we have overcome the dangerous activities of international imperialism and the domestic enemies of socialism, the adventurers who played a hazardous game with the lives of our people and with the honour of our nations.

It was an exceptionally complicated and difficult period in the life of our Party and our country. We came through it thanks to the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, thanks to the new leadership of the Party and its firm Marxist-Leninist stand, thanks to the selfless efforts of upright communists and millions of working people.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is a loyal member of the family

of socialist countries, and its international authority has been substantially enhanced. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is again a firm and reliable component of the international communist movement, a firm component of the world front of progress and socialism, of the struggle against imperialism, for the freedom of nations, for peace and security in the world.

We are very glad that we can welcome in our midst esteemed and honoured foreign guests, among them a delegation from Lenin's glorious party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Our Party and our people have drawn a lesson from the recent past. The 14th Congress is meeting firmly determined to continue strengthening the unity and cohesion of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, determined never to permit anyone to disrupt the Party, never to permit any weakening of the fraternal ties between our Party and people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people. Safeguards of our security, our strength and our certainty rest in our friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union — a friendship that will last for ever.

The 14th Congress is meeting to work out a programme for the further all-round development of our society. All of us who have been entrusted with the great task of representing the hundreds of thousands of Party members at this Congress are fully aware of our great responsibility. It places us under an obligation to proceed with a unified and common effort in the interests of our Party and all our working people. We shall do everything to imbue the proceedings of the 14th Congress with dedicated service in the cause of the people, and with concern for their happy future.

We appeal from the Congress forum to all working people to give their active support to the decisions of the 14th Congress, to exert selfless and creative efforts aimed at securing the further blossoming of our dear socialist homeland.

Comrades,

In the years which have elapsed since the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, our Party, our people and the international communist and workers' movement have lost a number of outstanding representatives. They fought bravely for the cause of progress, socialism and peace. They will live forever in our minds and hearts.

Please let us now observe one minute's silence in honour of their memory.

Thank you!

I declare the 14th Congress open and wish it every success in its deliberations.

Gustáv Husák,

**General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia**

**REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE PARTY
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
SOCIETY SINCE THE 13th CONGRESS OF THE CPCz
AND OTHER TASKS OF THE PARTY**

Esteemed comrades and delegates,
Dear guests!

The Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz), as its supreme body, has met to assess the developments of the past five years which have elapsed since the 13th Congress of our Party and to define further procedure for our work.

These past years have been among the most difficult and most complicated in the fifty year history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Our Party and society have been through a profound crisis, which affected every sphere. It disrupted the Party, social organizations, State and economic bodies, it brought the economy and the social certainty of the working people to a chaotic state, and our foreign-political relations were endangered. The revolutionary achievements of the people, the results of socialist construction were seriously threatened and in the last instance, the socialist system in our country was imperilled.

These were years of hard trial for our Party and for our socialist society. Today we can responsibly declare that the advance of the counter-revolutionary forces has been repelled, the socialist system successfully defended. After April 1969 the Central Committee started to take a firm course to overcome the crises in the Party and society. The condition for surmounting these dangerous crises was the defeat of rightist opportunist, revisionist and anti-socialist forces, the cleansing of the Party, social and State bodies and the restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles in the policy of the Party and in the activities of our socialist State.

After two years of tenacious and exhausting political, organizational work on the part of hundreds of thousands of communists we can

Justifiably state that the Party is ideologically, politically and organizationally united and capable of action. Our society has consolidated, the economy has again achieved stability, and is acquiring a dynamic rate of development. The social and legal certainty of the people is assured. By its political course and concrete results the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is winning the continually increasing confidence and support of the working class and other strata of workers, it has again become the leading force in our socialist society and a firm link in the international communist movement.

We have fully restored the friendly ties and bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries.

The restoration of normal conditions for the creative work and life of the working people, the overall results of consolidation in the Party, in social organizations, in State and representative bodies, in the economic and social spheres and in our foreign relations has made it possible for the regular Congress of the Party to be convened.

During the pre-Congress campaign all basic organizations, district and regional conferences and the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia expressed full agreement with the political course of our Central Committee and the practical activity of its bodies. The recent demonstrations on the occasion of May 1st, which were held in almost 1,000 communities in our Republic and which were attended by several million people, showed the high degree of our Party's unity with the broad masses, the support of the workers, farmers and intelligentsia for the policy of the Central Committee. The preparation of the Party Congress proceeded in accordance with the Statutes. It was accompanied by widespread working initiative in plants and other places of work to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its 14th Congress.

In the preparation of our Congress an inspiring example was set by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Leninist principledness of the Soviet communists, their exactingness, factualness and bold plans for the future filled our people with enthusiasm and are a lesson for our work as well. The warm feelings entertained by Soviet communists for our Party and for the Czechoslovak people, as were also expressed at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, contributed markedly towards strengthening friendship between our parties and nations.

The results which we have achieved in all spheres during the last two years provide the certainty that our 14th Congress can, with all responsibility, bring the crisis stage of history to a close and orientate the Party and our entire society towards the further development of socialism in our homeland.

50 YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Comrades,

We are happy that at the time of the increasing successes of our Party and society we can, with the 14th Congress, bring to a climax the fifty years' revolutionary course of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which was a component and motivating force in the most important and brightest chapters of the recent history of our nations.

Today we can state with justification, that the Party has successfully fulfilled and is still fulfilling the historic mission, which it took upon itself as the leading force of the working class and other working people. Its fifty-year long history, full of heroic and self-sacrificing struggle for social and national liberation, is a proof that service to the working class, the working people and the nations of our State is and will remain for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia the supreme law of its activities. The victorious road of the Party has confirmed here too the correctness and validity of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It is, therefore, a vital source of experience and instruction for our work.

With the passing of half a century we can adequately appreciate the greatness of the historic deed, accomplished by the most mature of the workers, namely the founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It was the logical outcome of the whole social development, the growth of the revolutionary democratic and national liberation movements, and of the class struggle. The revolutionary workers movement, after the bitter experiences of 1918—1920 and of the defeat of 1920, realized that if it was to win in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and exploitation it would politically, ideologically and organizationally have to part ways with social democratic reformism and, following the example of the Russian bolsheviks, organize a revolutionary Party of a new type. Thus, the emergence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was a fundamental pre-condition for the successful fight to defeat the bourgeoisie.

In its programme the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia put forward the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and in opposition to class reconciliation with the bourgeoisie it set the aim of revolutionary change in society. In opposition to nationalism it raised the banner of proletarian internationalism. From the very beginning it was inspired in its work by the example of the Great October Socialist Revolution and learned from the experiences of the Bolshevik Party. We shall never forget that it was the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who assisted the revolutionary beginnings of our young Party.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set itself up in our multinational State as the united international party of the working class and an inseparable component of the international communist movement. Its internationalism was in keeping with true patriotism. In difficult class, social and national struggles the Party fought for a better future for the working people, for a country in which exploitation of man by man and national oppression would be eliminated. For a country that would be a good mother to all the workers of our two nations and to the people of other nationalities. Communists, as the most consistent fighters for social justice, for national freedom and the independence of the Czechoslovak State, became bearers and advancers of the progressive legacy of our nations.

All the historic victories of the Party are linked with loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, with its creative application under our conditions and with the irreconcilable fight against revisionist and opportunist deformations. Any deviation from these principles always resulted in difficulties and crises. The formation of a new leadership of the CPCz, headed by Klement Gottwald, at the 5th Congress of the CPCz in 1929, and its struggle with opportunism made it possible to overcome the situation of crisis in the Party and consistently to assert the Marxist-Leninist principles of class and revolutionary politics under our conditions. This revolutionary course and the class struggle, that was led by our Party in the bourgeois Republic resulted in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia being the only political force that honourably stood the test in the complicated situations of the economic crisis and during the time of the Fascist threat to the Republic, just as it did in the most difficult years for our nations — at the time of the Nazi occupation. The CPCz mobilized all the working people against the infamous Munich Dictate. The communists linked their sincere patriotism with the tasks of the international struggle against Fascism. The communists were the leading force of the anti-fascist national liberation struggle. Their work, activities and sacrifices clearly left their mark on the anti-fascist struggle at home and abroad, on the flight of the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, the Slovak National Uprising, the partisan fighting on our territory and the May revolutionary uprising of the Czech people. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emerged from the war years as a fighter for our national freedom, recognized by broad strata of working people, and as a fighter for the restoration of the Czechoslovak State and for the reconstruction of our society, upon socially just foundations.

It will never be forgotten by the working people that our national and State freedom was restored by the heroic struggle of the Soviet Army. Experiences from the pre-Munich Republic and especially from

the hard years of 1938—1945 led to the profound conviction among the millions of working people of our nations that the independence of the Czechoslovak State and the national existence of the Czech and Slovak nations can only be guaranteed in close alliance with the Soviet Union. Thus external conditions were also created for the victory of the national and democratic revolution and its gradual transition into a socialist revolution.

Through the class and political struggles of 1945—1948 the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia won over the absolute majority of the working class and working people for its programme. Thereby conditions were provided for the defeat of the reactionary forces in February 1948. Through the February victory the power of the working class and the working people was definitively installed in our country and this opened the way for the socialist reconstruction of society as expressed in the general line of the 9th Congress of our Party. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was able to achieve this victory because it creatively applied Leninist strategy and tactics in the fight for working class power. It organized a broad alliance of the working class, farmers and other working people, which became a decisive social force in the political struggle, and because it relied upon a close alliance with the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary reconstruction of society is an immensely complicated task. And yet, within a relatively short time, it was possible to realize it here. The exploitation of man by man was definitively eliminated. In alliance with farmers and intelligentsia the working class became the ruling class in society. Democratic rights and social certainty for the working people, equal rights for our nations and nationalities were ensured. The people became the true rulers of their country.

Socialist production relations prevailed in all branches of the national economy, which achieved extraordinary growth. The main component of economic growth was the planned development of socialist industry, which created conditions for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and other branches, for the industrialization of Slovakia and for strengthening the defence-readiness of our country.

Life in our villages has radically changed. Socialist agricultural mass-production has been built up on a cooperative basis. The unified agricultural cooperatives have become firmly anchored in our villages and have stood up well to the political tests of the last few years. A new class of cooperative farmers has come into being. The social and cultural level of the villages has risen sharply and the process of eliminating differences between town and village is progressing successfully. There has been a remarkable improvement in the education of the people. Science, research, Czech and Slovak culture, are devel-

oping fast. The best works of culture and art have been made accessible to broad strata of the people.

The expansion of socialist production ensured a continuous increase in the material and cultural standards of the people. The government of the bourgeoisie in the pre-Munich Republic was unable to solve any of the fundamental social, national, or international issues of the State and brought our State to catastrophe. The working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, convincingly proved in an historically short time that socialism is an incomparably more just, more democratic and more progressive social system and brings a happier and richer life to the working man. The successful results of socialist reconstruction in our country document the creative force of Marxist-Leninist ideas and the great organizing work of the whole Party. In the construction of socialism the experiences of, and cooperation with, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries were of great help to us.

The construction of socialism was not easy, we came up against many obstacles and difficulties. In the process of this complicated development, the Party and the working class acquired the art of management and government. At the same time mistakes and serious errors were made. There were objective causes and causes also in people, which were not necessary. It is of importance to recognize mistakes and errors and to rectify them quickly.

At the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Comrade Brezhnev said:

"The socialist world of today with all its successes and prospects, with all its problems, is still a young, growing social organism, in which not everything is yet firmly arranged, many things carry traces of the past historic epochs. The socialist world is all in motion, it is continually perfecting itself. It is developing naturally in the struggle of the new with the old, settling internal differences. Experience acquired will help the fraternal parties towards a correct and timely settlement of differences and will help them to step out with certainty along the way shown us by the great teachers of the proletariat — Marx, Engels, and Lenin."

Even our own experiences from the last fifty years and especially from the period of constructing socialism teach us how important it is, during the construction of socialism and in advancing socialist society, to proceed with Marxist-Leninist principledness, and with great circumspection to see and solve in time the social processes and problems in the various spheres, to rectify mistakes and continually improve the work of the Party, social, State, economic and other bodies. Therein lies the basis of our future success.

Comrades!

The self-sacrificing work and suffering of the fighters of several generations of our movement were not in vain. Today, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the Party, we pay tribute to all who stood at the cradle of the workers' movement and of our Party, all who fought in its ranks and to those who supported it; to all who stood the test of hard struggles and laid the base for our socialist present.

Let us remember the comrades who did not live to see this day. Neither our, nor the future generation will ever forget those who lost their lives in the fight for the rights of the working people, for the freedom of our nations. We shall not forget those, who helped our Party to emerge, who dedicated all their strength and ability to the cause of socialism and to the interests of the working people. From the ranks of thousands of dedicated fighters and revolutionaries we recall Bohumír Šmeral, Antonín Zápotocký, Marek Čulen, S. K. Neumann, Karel Kreibich, Josef Hybeš, Josef Haken and Jan Šverma, we bring to mind Julius Fučík, Jan Ziska, Eduard Urš, Štefan Major, Jožka Jabůrková, Karol Šmidke, Vladimír Clementis, Ivan Olbracht and hundreds and thousands of other fighters. Their legacy will remain forever alive.

The memory of comrade Klement Gottwald who for a quarter of a century stood at the head of our Party will always live in our minds; with his work he contributed in a significant way towards its bolshevik shaping, towards the advance of the national and democratic revolution and the February victory of the working people. Under his leadership the Party laid the firm foundations of the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance and worked out a general line for the construction of socialism in our State.

We can quite rightly characterize the last fifty years, despite some failures and defeats, as years of self-sacrificing work and successful struggle, as a heroic and victorious road. For half a century our Party has consistently fulfilled and is fulfilling its programme of liberating the working man and has been waging a struggle for a better life for him. For this the thanks, esteem and love of the working people are due to it. To be a member of this Party is an honour and an obligation.

Loyal to the brightest traditions of our history we shall ensure that our Party is continually strengthened, that its revolutionary international character, its Marxist-Leninist unity and close contact with the people will be intensified.

We shall take care to see that it is a real vanguard of the working class, the leading and guiding force of our socialist society and a firm

component of the international communist and workers' movement. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will lead the people with firm certainty towards the further development of socialist society and a communist morrow.

We are strongly convinced that our 14th Congress will prove to be a dignified entry into the second half century of the Party's fight for a happy life for our nations, for the cause of socialism and world peace.

THE CRISIS AND ITS CAUSES

Comrades,

The period since the 13th Congress of our Party, which we are assessing today, was marked by profound political crisis and an intensive striving to overcome it during the last two years. The reasons for the crisis phenomena in the political, economic and ideological spheres have been dealt with by the Central Committee many times. At its December session in 1970 it summarized the conclusions in the document "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society since the 13th Congress of the CPCz". Our Party and the public know this document well and agree with it.

The successes that we have achieved in the construction of a socialist society, in building up the material-technical base, are as indisputable as are those in the development of the political system of socialism and in the moulding of the socialist consciousness of our people.

The growing tasks of an advanced industrial country, however, placed increasing demands upon the Party, in its acquirement of knowledge, its leading and organizing activities, and primarily upon its leading bodies, upon political-educational and ideological work, upon the developing of all the functions of the socialist State and social organizations, upon the development of socialist democracy.

Respect was not paid however, to the Leninist idea and experience, proved in practice, that the upsurge of constructive activity brings with it increasingly complicated problems and thus increases the role and demands on, as well as the responsibility of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working people, and primarily of its leading bodies. From the beginning of the 1960's there were initial signs of intoxication in the leadership of our Party over the successes achieved, which became one of the causes of growing subjectivism and voluntarism

when determining political and economic targets and during their practical realization.

The leadership of the Party headed by Antonín Novotný incorrectly evaluated the stage of development reached in society and idealized the level of its moral-political unity. The wish was presented as reality, and from this grew the subjectivist endeavour to outrun developments. In view of the lack of a more profound analysis of the structure of classes and social groups in our society, the contemporary stage of development was superficially assessed and unrealistic terms for the conclusion of socialist construction were announced. In 1960 Novotný declared that "in our country all fundamental tasks in the transition from capitalism to socialism have been settled". During the 'fifties important successes in socialist construction were really achieved. Socialist production relations were victorious — true, especially from the point of view of forms of ownership. This, however, is not the same as fulfilment of all basic tasks in the transition to socialism, as was interpreted by A. Novotný. In addition, in this context no analysis or specification was made of the other tasks of the class struggle that exist in a very young socialist society, or of the production, social and ideological conditions of the all-round incorporation of the former petty-bourgeois strata into the system of socialist mass-production. Marx, Engels and Lenin always stressed the all-round nature of the class struggle from which it is impossible without repercussion to leave out either the economic, political or ideological sides of the matter. Above all the moulding of socialist man — the great battle for his socialist consciousness, the battle against inertia, against class alien tendencies, and, under our conditions against the effect of a strong bourgeois stratum and various social democratic traditions and influences — was not backed by an effective programme. The international aspects of our development, determined by the clearly defined class antagonism of the contemporary world, substantially strengthened the urgency of political-ideological struggle. A strong enough fight was not waged against growing rightist opportunism in the Party, which was a reflection of the influence of the domestic petty-bourgeois strata, and of international influences.

The Party leadership did not even draw conclusions or a lesson from the Hungarian counter-revolution and did not arm the Party against the methods of ideological diversion, which the imperialists had begun to use as the major weapon against the socialist countries. This was connected with the endeavour on the part of Novotný's leadership to ignore or postpone the rectification of the mistakes and errors made in the 1950s, for which he bore direct political responsibility. From unwillingness to judge the actual situation on the basis of a Marxist-

Leninist analysis, all sorts of improvisations inevitably arose, both in the economy, in the political and in the ideological sphere; from this ensued the disorientation of the Party. The increasing contradiction between words and deeds was markedly evident in the unreal conception in the economic field, the consequence of which was the failure of the Third Five-Year Plan and the stagnation of our economy.

At the time that Czechoslovakia became the object of the concentrated attack of political and ideological subversion from anti-communist centres in the West, which concentrated on disparaging the principles and values of socialism and on inciting nationalist and anti-Soviet moods and petty-bourgeois prejudices, the Party leadership by its unprincipled policy enabled unstable people, and even those who did not stand on the positions of socialism, to occupy key positions in culture, the social sciences, the mass media, as well as in mass organizations and in State and Party bodies. At the same time, the Party leadership, by its wrong methods, discouraged many upright and honest communists from a committed fight in this sphere.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia critically drew attention to certain unhealthy trends in our domestic-political life, and, in its conclusions, stressed the necessity for overcoming them. The decisions and resolutions of the 13th Congress pointed quite correctly to a wide range of problems which it was necessary to solve. However, the carrying out of the tasks laid down by the 13th Congress did not correspond to the real needs and did not take into account the critical voices heard in the pre-Congress discussion. The unprincipled attitude towards grave problems was, moreover, often complicated by the Party leadership, by administrative measures and an unsensitive attitude in solving the nationalities' question, particularly in regard to the relations between Czechs and Slovaks. The long-term perspective of rapprochement between socialist nations was, in accordance with Novotný's concept, distorted to one of bureaucratic centralism, which inevitably resulted in the deformation of the equal relations between our nations.

This entire development evoked tension within the Party and society, led to formalism in internal Party life, to the passivity of a great number of Party members and the toleration of views inside the Party which are incompatible with socialism. By the middle of 1967, it was already evident that a grave crisis had matured in the Party and society. The results of a broad internal Party inquiry held before the October plenum of the CC of the CPCz in 1967 showed that the Party organizations were justly criticizing the Party leadership for not solving the social and economic problems urgently requiring solution, for permitting a growing denigration of the work of the Party and its history,

the dissemination of negativism and petty-bourgeois attitudes. They demanded that these problems be solved by the Central Committee in the spirit of the 13th Congress. The situation in our Party reached a stage at which it was absolutely essential that resolute measures be taken against the shortcomings and errors occurring in the implementation of Congress decisions, in order to improve the situation in the Party leadership, including Antonín Novotný's departure from the function of First Secretary. This task was solved by the Central Committee at its session in January 1968. Proceeding from the line laid down by the 13th Congress of the Party, the Central Committee stressed the necessity to strengthen the ideological and action unity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its leading position in society, the need to strengthen the bonds of Czechs and Slovaks by consistently implementing Leninist principles in the policy related to nationalities, and simultaneously to solve the pressing problems of the national economy and other tasks. It stressed the obligations of the CSSR towards the world socialist system and the need for firm unity with the Soviet Union. The results of the January plenum were essentially an expression of the effort to solve the crisis which had arisen within the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and to remove from the life of the Party and its leadership all that prevented the Party from ensuring the further development of society by increased activity. The conclusions of the January plenum and its resolution were received positively by the majority of the Party and our people.

Experience has taught us that it was a grave shortcoming of the January 1968 session of the Central Committee of the CPCz that it did not accurately determine the class framework of further political procedure, nor did it direct the Party towards developing simultaneously a militant political and ideological struggle against growing rightist opportunism and anti-socialist tendencies. This task was the more pressing that rightist forces had been active in this country already before January 1968, that they were relying upon a numerous, influential group within the Central Committee of the CPCz, which was revisionist orientated and organized itself essentially as a fraction. At its January session, the Central Committee did not see this division of forces, nor the possible danger, and did not, particularly in the person of the new First Secretary of the Central Committee, create a guarantee of a firm Marxist-Leninist Party leadership in this complicated situation.

On the contrary, under the protection and direct participation of certain rightist-orientated members of the CC of the CPCz the rightist forces in this country used their strong positions in the communication media to disorientate the Party and the working people, who considered

the conclusions of the January plenum as a precondition for a new upsurge of creative initiative and activity. Thus, petty-bourgeois notions were spread about socialism through all channels of State communication media and by other forms, and self-criticism within the Party was abused by denigrating its entire history and the whole period of socialist construction. Illusions were created about the capitalist West and about the pre-Munich bourgeois Republic. In particular, nationalism and anti-Sovietism were incited, which was in keeping with the longterm anti-communist designs of the Imperialist forces that were striving to disrupt the socialist system in Czechoslovakia.

The development of events in Czechoslovakia, being at variance with the interests and the expectations of the majority of the communists and of our people, instead of removing the crisis-ridden phenomena from the Party and society, actually deepened and broadened them to unmanageable dimensions. The causes, consequences, as well as the entire catastrophic culmination of the post-January development, has been clarified and generalized in the 'Lesson', the document passed by the December 1970 plenum of the CPCz. The whole Party knows it and has expressed agreement with it, and our Congress, too, will certainly confirm it as a binding directive for Party work.

Comrades!

If we recall the basic causes of recent developments in Czechoslovakia, which in 1968 led to a counter-revolutionary threat to our entire system, we do so because it is often asked how this development could have come about when the working class had been in power in this country for quite a long period, when the Communist Party was the leading force, and the overwhelming majority of working people upheld the positions of socialism.

One of the determining causes of this catastrophic development was the fact that gradually people were penetrating into the leading Party bodies who increasingly betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, who violated the norms of Party life and the principles of democratic centralism. And these people were gradually taking over the leadership of the Party. Particularly in recent years, the class aspect of problems had been blunted in the Communist Party, revolutionary vigilance and ideological principledness declined, there was a growth of petty-bourgeois habits, careerism, adaptability to the exigencies of the moment. Communist modesty was in many instances replaced by megalomania and fame-seeking. These negative tendencies were gradually penetrating all spheres of our social life. Rightist and

anti-socialist propaganda was carried along on these waves. As a consequence of the advance and the activity of the right-wing forces, the Central Committee of the CPCz, and especially its Presidium and Secretariat, ceased to fulfil the task of being a decisive centre in the construction of socialism and in the protection of the revolutionary achievements of the people. The Central Committee, although it comprised a majority of experienced and dedicated Party members, was, as a body, unable to reveal and thwart in time the anti-Party and anti-popular activity of the conscious enemies and renegades, and of various careerist lackeys.

At the May session in 1968, the Marxist-Leninist forces did indeed get a resolution through which urgently drew attention to the dangerous activity of the anti-socialist forces; however, they stopped mid-way. They did not start an open fight against right-wing opportunism in the Party. Today, we know that in such a critical period it was essential to part with people who were not standing on positions of Marxism-Leninism. In the effort to maintain formal unity in the Central Committee, at all costs, there was retreat from communist positions and room was given for the activities of the rightist and anti-socialist forces. The Central Committee even allowed itself to be excluded from political life, which was dominated by uncontrolled petty-bourgeois activity and anti-socialist tendencies. At variance with the Party Statutes, a right-wing revisionist centre formed whose activities made possible the advance of the counter-revolutionary forces striving for a reversal of political power in Czechoslovakia. At the July session in 1968 the Central Committee submitted to the political and moral pressure from without and to the pressure of the rightist-opportunist forces within the body itself, and identified itself with the incorrect standpoint of the Presidium to the letter from the fraternal parties of the five socialist countries.

Alexander Dubček, Oldřich Černík, Josef Smrkovský, František Křigel and others who concentrated in their hands the decision-making on affairs of Party and State, paralysed all the main components of our socialist political system: the activities of the Presidium of the Central Committee, the National Assembly, the Government, the organs of power of the State and the National Front. The decisive elements of executive power and legislative power ceased to fulfil their class mission, because the key positions in them were held by rightist-opportunists. This created favourable conditions for intensified activity on the part of the counter-revolutionary underground and for subversion by the enemies from without.

There was a similar situation in the economic sphere. The Party leadership ceased to direct the development of the national economy

and permitted the initiative to be taken by various rightist adventurers, such as Šik, who, at variance with the vital interests of the working people, opened the way to uncontrolled petty-bourgeois activity, to the reversion from society-wide ownership to group ownership, to the elimination of the planned management of the national economy, to the unrestrained operation of the market, thus making it impossible for the Party and the State to influence the management and development of the national economy. In its consequences, this road would have led to the liquidation of socialist production relations.

One of the reasons why we reaped such results in 1968 was that Marxist-Leninist and internationalist education had for many years been neglected in the Party and society. To a considerable extent the Party was ideologically disarmed. Under the pressure of right-wing propaganda, the masses of the working people were unable to face the organized and coordinated pressure of internal and external revisionist and enemy forces. The common denominator of the revisionist and anti-socialist efforts in this country was nationalism and anti-Sovietism. This was in accord with the strategic and tactical intentions of the western anti-communist centres, which saw in it the most effective weapon for disrupting ties between the socialist countries and the Soviet Union. The mass media became an instrument of consistent misinformation and the manipulation of public opinion. This led to the creation of anti-Party and anti-socialist mass psychosis. Through its subversive activity the press, radio, television and film distorted the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and revived bourgeois ideology, masking it with pseudo-socialist phraseology.

The disruption of fraternal bonds with the Soviet Union and the other socialist allies was to have rid our State of its main defence and put it at the mercy of the internal counter-revolutionary forces and their imperialist protectors.

Following the Hungarian events in 1956 the imperialists changed their methods. Nowadays, when the ideas of socialism are firmly rooted in the minds and hearts of the broadest strata of the working people, they concentrate primarily upon ideological subversion. In order to disintegrate the Party and socialist society, in order to cover up their real aims, they wage the fight under pseudo-socialist slogans for "improving" socialism. Instead of socialism built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, they attempt to push through a petty-bourgeois model of "consumer" socialism which would be a bridge towards the restoration of capitalism. They orientate themselves towards the support of all the centrifugal nationalist and revisionist currents, for which the petty-bourgeois element provides a strong foundation. It is only logical that various stars and starlets of the so-called Prague Spring, who

were so ardently "reforming" socialism in this country, are today acting as open enemies in the propaganda centres and press organs of imperialism in the West.

Alexander Dubček and his followers harmed the Party and the people by pushing through the revisionist concept of so-called "democratic socialism"; they grossly violated their duties towards the Party and the people, deriving from the high functions they held, they continuously retreated before the counter-revolutionary onslaught and in fact opened the road to it, they grossly violated the duties stemming from our obligations of alliance, repudiated the line laid down by the 13th Congress and even got as far as acts of liquidation, which culminated in the inimical platform of the well-known anti-Party Vysočany gathering. There, in the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, an attempt was made to set up a counter-revolutionary staff which was to tear up the bonds of alliance with the Soviet Union and our socialist allies and gradually liquidate the achievements of socialism in our country.

The Czechoslovak events of 1968 again confirmed the truth of Lenin's thesis that even the most numerous revolutionary force, if it lacks a principled and firm leadership which stands unreservedly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism, becomes a scattered mass incapable of organized action, which, under certain conditions, and under the pressure of counter-revolutionary forces can suffer defeat.

An objective analysis of the development during this period shows that had it not been for the timely internationalist assistance of our closest socialist allies, the working class and the working people in our country would have suffered a defeat which would have had far-reaching consequences not only for our people but also for peace in Europe, would have endangered the position of socialism and would have harmed the entire international revolutionary movement.

From the platform of our Congress we again want to confirm the evaluation of August 21st, 1968, that was unanimously approved by our Central Committee in December 1970 and supported by the whole Party: "The entry of the allied troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia was an act of international solidarity, which corresponded both with the common interests of the Czechoslovak working people and with those of the international working class and the socialist community and the class interests of the world communist movement. By this internationalist action the lives of thousands of people were saved and internal and external conditions for their peaceful and calm work were secured, the western frontier of the socialist camp was strengthened and the hopes of the imperialist circles for a revision of the results of World War Two were thwarted."

At our 14th Congress, as we bring to a close this complicated period of crisis, we want on behalf of the whole Party, on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the working people to express our sincere thanks to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people, and also personally to you, comrade Brezhnev, and the other socialist friends from the fraternal parties, whose secretaries are present at our Congress, for the fact that in this difficult situation they understood the anxiety which Czechoslovak communists felt for the cause of socialism, and the requests of many Party and State officials, many communists and collectives of working people for assistance, that this international assistance saved our country from civil war and counter-revolution and defended the achievements of socialism.

The right-wing majority in the Party leadership, which consummated its open betrayal of Marxist-Leninist policy with the well-known proclamation of the Presidium of the CC of the CPCz of August 21st, 1968, attempted to disguise the truth about the international assistance of the allies. This treacherous act caused serious damage to our country and to the interests of the international communist movement. Mainly due to this proclamation and its dissemination by all the communication media, an atmosphere of unbelievable misinformation and chauvinist hysteria was created at that complicated moment, to which, under the pressure of mass psychosis, even many communists and honest citizens succumbed, who then committed acts which were often in contradiction to all their previous work for socialism, as well as their convictions.

The entry of the allied troops multiplied the power of the internal forces, which were determined to defend the achievements of socialism in Czechoslovakia and to create a firm hinterland for the development of widespread mobilization of the working people for the struggle to overcome the threat of counter-revolution by political means. The signing of the Protocol between the Soviet and Czechoslovak representatives from the 23rd to 26th of August 1968 in Moscow, strengthened the assurance of the sound forces, and became a mighty lever for raising the political self-confidence and action-ability of the Party, of the working class, and of our whole society.

The Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party and society waged a difficult and complicated struggle from August 1968 to April 1969. Gradually they came to know each other, unified and began to win over to their side those who at the beginning, in the complex situation, had been unable to find their bearings. In this sense, it was essential, in the first place, for all honest people to understand as quickly as possible the disruptive intentions of the right-wing, anti-socialist and counter-

revolutionary forces. Alexander Dubček and his followers in the Party leadership continued to pursue a two-faced policy and basically thwarted the work of the Party aimed at overcoming the crisis phenomena. After months of hard struggle in the Party and society, thanks to the efforts and selfless work of hundreds of thousands of honest communists, the Marxist-Leninist forces in our Party consolidated themselves to such an extent, that in April 1969 the Central Committee could decide to make basic changes in the leadership of the Party, and start a resolute struggle to overcome the situation of profound crisis in the Party and society. An unavoidable and very exacting task lay before us: to lead the Party, the working class, and the working people, our nations and the State, out of the state of disruption and crisis existing in all spheres within the State and in our foreign relations.

THE STRUGGLE TO OVERCOME THE CRISIS

To lead the Party and society out of the crisis required the carrying on of resolute struggle with the right-wing, revisionist and anti-socialist forces; so as to defeat them politically and deprive them of the possibility of engaging in disruptive activity. This meant the restoration of the Marxist-Leninist principles of our socialist society, the strengthening of the values of socialism, of the Leninist principles of inner-Party life, and the gradual solution of the problems accumulated in all sectors. At its session in May 1969, in the "Implementation Directive", the Central Committee defined the main targets of the Party in that period as follows:

a) To restore the unity of the Party on the principled bases of Marxist-Leninist teaching and on the Leninist principles of Party structure and Party life. To raise the action capacity and revolutionary militancy of the entire Party.

b) To restore the leading role of the Communist Party in society, particularly in social organizations and the member organizations of the National Front, in state bodies, and in the economic and cultural sphere.

c) To consolidate the function of the socialist State in all its links as an organ of the power of the working class and the working people.

d) To start immediately on the implementation of effective measures for solving the serious economic problems in our State.

e) To solve, in a principled way and in a spirit of firm friendship,

our relations with the fraternal communist parties of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, from which the basic principles of the foreign policy of our State are derived."

The basic element of our struggle against the revisionist and disruptive forces consisted of efforts to restore the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party. Starting from the Central Committee and its organs, down to the primary Party organizations, it was necessary to carry out important personnel changes, to release from functions and gradually get rid of all those who had betrayed the Marxist-Leninist principles of our Party, had taken up hostile positions and in the crisis-ridden years seriously damaged the interests of the Party. In the course of the exchange of Party cards, more than one-fifth of the Party members were not given new Party cards. At our Congress we highly appreciate the work of the thousands of interview commission members. We shall not allow these Party interviews to be deprecated in any respect. On the basis of this differentiation and cleansing of the Party, it became possible to rally a militant Party *aktiv* around the policy of the Central Committee, to organize the work of hundreds of thousands of honest Party members, to wage the struggle for ideological and organizational unity within the Party, to restore its militancy, and its implacable antagonism towards revisionist and hostile influences and currents and its responsibility for solving the vitally important problems of the working class and the working people. In this consistent struggle the right-wing and revisionist forces were defeated and driven out of the Party. At the same time, a resolute blow was dealt to the anti-socialist and disruptive forces in our society. We know that this struggle must continue in order to overcome the causes and consequences of opportunism and revisionism. In the field of the political and ideological education of the working masses we are still faced with tremendous tasks. The results of the great and selfless work of hundreds of thousands of communists, led and guided by the Central Committee, gradually came to be reflected as a change in the overall atmosphere within our Party, in the growing militancy and determination of communists, and finally in the strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party on Marxist-Leninist principles. This has also been confirmed by the course of the annual membership meetings, and the district and regional conferences, and the Congress of the CP of Slovakia, which preceded our Congress.

We can proclaim to the Congress that the task of cleansing the Party, of restoring its Marxist-Leninist character, of overcoming the internal crisis, has been fulfilled. Our Party is again capable to the full extent of carrying out its historical mission as the leading force of socialist society and of organizing the forces of the working class, the farmers,

the intelligentsia and other sections of society for the fulfilment of the tasks which will be set by our 14th Congress.

From this platform I should also like to thank the great army of comrades who remained true to the teaching of our Party under hard crisis-ridden conditions, and who by their selfless work contributed to the achievement of these great positive results.

The cleansing, differentiating and unifying process was organized by our Party throughout all spheres of the social and State system. In the struggle against the opportunist and disruptive forces, which until April 1969 were firmly entrenched in all the social organizations and member organizations of the National Front, in the State and economic bodies, in the mass communication media, in the spheres of science, culture, arts, etc., it was necessary to wage a hard fight and to take considerable cadre measures. The destructive activities of the right-wing opportunists and downright anti-socialist forces were fully apparent in the multi-million organization of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. From leading trade union bodies down to the basic units at places of work, this organization was for the most part misused for various pressure campaigns against the basic principles of the policy of the Communist Party and the socialist State, and this ran counter to the most vital interests of the working class and the working people. In a complicated struggle, over the course of two years progress has also been achieved in this important sector, through hard and selfless work on the part of communists and other working people devoted to socialism.

Very serious were the consequences of the disruptive activity of the revisionist and anti-socialist forces among our youth and in its organizations. They took over the leadership and broke up the united organization of youth and then placed most of the newly created youth organizations at the service of an anti-Party and anti-socialist policy. It required tremendous political work on the part of communists and other working people to overcome this destructive activity among youth. A new united organization of youth — the Socialist Union of Youth — has now been in existence for more than a year, and, as an important assistant of the Party, is gathering strength and increasing its influence on the younger generation.

And in every sphere we could analyze, in this way, the process of overcoming the crisis and disruptive phenomena, as well as the positive results which have become apparent in the course of the two years of the restoration of the socialist social system, in the member organizations of the National Front, in work among working people and in the revival of the leading role of our Party.

In opposition to the revisionist and liberal concepts of the non-class

approach to the function of the socialist State and the representative bodies, it was necessary to revive and assert the class concept of our State as the organ of power of the working class and the working people, and the function of socialist democracy as a democracy for the working class and the working people. Even here, political struggle, a differentiation process and many personnel changes were necessary. It can be said that today the bodies of State power, the federal and the national governments, the representative bodies and the entire system of national committees are essentially fulfilling their important role, even though we know that here, as in other sectors, this process of perfecting the work is not and cannot be complete.

The political struggle is interwoven with the solving of the concrete tasks of the consolidation of the national economy. The disruption of the national economy was profound. The inflationary wave, and the conditions prevailing in production and distribution endangered the standard of living of the people. As late as in the summer of 1969, the advocates of the "market economy" were submitting proposals to the leadership of the Party that would have stabilized our economy at the expense of the working people by raising retail prices, rents, foodstuffs, to the sum of several hundred thousand million crowns. We rejected these concepts. By exceptional measures — such as the ban on retail price increases, the regulation of basic wages, price and investment indices, and above all by placing emphasis on the full utilization of reserves in our economy, on the raising of labour productivity, on the introduction of basic order into production and distribution, on the restoration of economic management through a single national economic plan — we endeavoured to overcome the dangerous situation in the national economy. It is a great credit to the Party that with progressive political consolidation and the active assistance of millions of workers, farmers, technicians and economic executives the dynamic life of our economy was successfully restored. The standard of living of the people was not only not reduced, but, on the contrary, is gradually increasing. The currency was stabilized, supplies for the population have improved, the social certainty and confidence of the millions of working people in our system, in the policy of the Party, have been strengthened. Today we can start to solve many economic and social problems and discuss at our Congress the prospects of economic development in the next five years.

On this occasion, too, we want to express our high appreciation of the working initiative of the miners, metallurgical and engineering workers, builders, workers in farming, in transport and in other fields, who have made such a great contribution towards overcoming the crisis, towards the achievement of the good results of our economy and towards

creating a good basis for its further development. Millions of working people active in these extremely important fields of work have thus expressed their devotion to socialism and their understanding for the efforts of our Party, initiated in April 1969.

The results of the consolidation effort in the political and social sphere, in the economy, in distribution and social policy, have convinced millions of our working people through their every-day personal experiences that the course taken by our Party is correct; the results have led to the restoration of the confidence of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the various strata of the intelligentsia and other working people in our socialist system, in the policy of the Party.

In order to secure the free development of our nations, the security of our State and the development of socialist society, it was imperative to restore to their full extent the bonds of friendship and alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, and with the other fraternal parties and allied states. Through the consistent policy of our Central Committee and the great understanding of the Soviet comrades and the comrades of the other fraternal parties we succeeded within a short time and along all lines in restoring fraternal and comradely relations, in taking up again the old friendship and intensifying it even more under the new situation, thus ranking our Party in the honourable ranks of the international communist and workers' movement, and our State in the family of the socialist states. Today, these ideas are deeply rooted in the minds and hearts of our working class, our farmers, the intelligentsia, all our working people.

In carrying out the Implementation Directives, in the over-all struggle for political, economic, ideological and international-political consolidation, the leadership of the Party showed the necessary flexibility, the art of defining strategic aims correctly and of choosing effective methods for their achievement. It systematically developed the activity of the Party and the understanding of our people, it saw to it that there would be neither too hasty development, nor delay in solving urgent problems. It was necessary that consolidation should proceed in a purposeful and energetic way, and that the struggle against the right wing be linked with the overcoming of past mistakes and shortcomings and with the solving of the practical tasks of socialist construction. On the basis of their own experience the broad masses could see that the new leadership of the Party was bringing them certainty of existence and perspective, as against disruption, anarchy and uncertainty.

We are fully justified in highly appreciating the results of the work of the past two years. However, we know very well how dangerous

It would be to indulge in self-satisfaction. We realize how many problems of the past have remained unsolved and how many new tasks are facing us. It has always been a characteristic feature of communists to assess their activity critically and to draw binding lessons from the successes and failures. The overall results of the policy of the Party since April 1969 prove that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has restored its links with the working class, which is and will remain the ruling class, and also with the cooperative farmers and a majority of the socialist minded intelligentsia. This life-giving alliance, which we shall purposefully guard and develop, is the basic source of the creative energy of our Party in solving the present-day and perspective tasks. The continuous strengthening of this alliance, the unification of the interests of the class and social groups of our society on the basis of the revolutionary ideology of the working class, will remain an important feature of our future development.

The complex and difficult period through which the Party has passed since its 13th Congress, has shown up in full light the importance of having high-principled, bold, class-conscious and internationally mature communists. The test in the struggle with right-wing opportunism, anti-Sovietism and nationalism has confirmed that the Party has a sufficient number of reliable and experienced cadres, who are a guarantee that we shall really advance along the Leninist road.

The 14th Congress of our Party now winds up these exceptionally hard and complicated years since the 13th Congress with militant unity in its ranks, with the support and the confidence of the working class and the working people, in firm alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist states, with instructive conclusions over the causes and the course of the crisis, with pride over the victory of Marxist-Leninist ideals in socialist Czechoslovakia.

THE TASKS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE PARTY

In the programme for the further all-round development of socialist society, the Party lays basic stress on a permanent and dynamic development of the economy, on satisfying to an increasing degree the material and spiritual requirements of the working people. We know the role which the successful development of the economy plays in the struggle for strengthening socialist power. We know that the success of our policy is assessed by the broad strata of the people mainly

according to the realistic conditions we create for their better and richer life. Therefore, the basic content of our work in future must be the task of leading and organizing the creative work of millions of people in socialist construction.

The results of the successful and fast economic consolidation provide a starting point for our future economic policy. Because of this we were able within a short time to overcome not only the threat of economic catastrophe, but in the end to achieve most of the main targets of the Fourth Five-Year Plan.

Thanks to this Czechoslovakia today belongs among the leading states in the world in its level of *per capita* industrial production. The data which you have at your disposal show its rapid quantitative and qualitative rise in the years of socialism.

At the same time the results achieved would have been even more favourable if the economic development had not been weakened by stagnation at the beginning of the 'sixties and above all by the consequences of the 1968 crisis. Of decisive importance, however, is the fact that all the necessary conditions exist for further all-round progress. We can therefore conceive with assurance a long-term strategy of economic growth and formulate exacting tasks for the future Five-Year Plan.

In laying them down we shall carry on from all the positive results of the past, but we want to cut out past mistakes. This requires a realistic appraisal of the level achieved, of the resources and the possibilities of further growth. It is no less important, however, to take into full consideration also the specific qualities of the present stage, which inevitably and ever more powerfully influence the development of our economy and society.

In the first place, right at the beginning of the 'seventies, new conditions of economic development are being felt with full vigour. Possibilities of relying for the further growth of production on an extensive development of resources have been practically exhausted. This applies especially to manpower reserves. If we are to meet the further inevitable requirements of the non-production sphere, there is no other way out for us than to secure the growth of production in future by basically increasing labour productivity.

The same applies to power, raw material and material resources. We are overcoming the limitations of our raw material base thanks to understanding on the part of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to reduce the specific consumption of raw materials in our production. Without such a reduction a further permanent increase in our economy would be very difficult. The situation requires our economy to be orientated unequivocally on a higher evaluation of raw materials, also because

excessive pressure for their import considerably restricts possibilities of importing new technology and consumer goods.

Nor is it possible to continue the previous practice in the sphere of investments, namely of building new plants and at the same time failing to utilize the existing ones. This would considerably lessen the possibilities of indispensable modernization and introduction of new technologies and the achievement of a faster development of services.

When speaking about the limitation of the traditional sources of growth, we naturally have in mind their limitation with regard to the present standard of technology, of organization, of management of production, and work. As everybody knows, there are more than enough shortcomings in this respect in all spheres. In individual cases this apparently concerns only trifling things, but taken altogether throughout the whole of society, they are reserves of exceptional importance. Their utilization may notably raise the general level of the economy.

Thus, on the one hand, a basic feature of the new conditions are the limits given by the traditional sources of growth. On the other, there is the increased importance attached to new factors of growth, such as the development of the scientific-technological revolution, the application of modern methods of management and a higher degree of international socialist integration.

The 'seventies will be marked by a rapidly growing penetration of science and technology into the development of the production forces. Scientific and technological progress will create ever greater pressure for the concentration of production. It will require products of high technical standard and great utility value to be made in big series and at low cost. Hence, problems of structural change, a faster transition to higher forms of international integration, the need to raise the scientific level of planned management, the necessity to master and apply, faster than hitherto, modern methods of management and scientific organization of work, are emerging before us with special urgency. We should be making an inexcusable mistake to believe that these processes can be avoided or dealt with only in words, if in practice we continued in the old rut.

Full utilization of the possibilities of scientific-technological progress is becoming the only possible alternative for the further development of our socialist economy, and a condition of success in competition with capitalism.

The conclusion which follows from the analysis of the conditions of our economy is unambiguous: *the consistent and all-round raising of the effectiveness of the development of the national economy, based on the full application of intensive factors of growth, must become the*

strategic line of its further development, the main content of the Party's economic policy.

It might seem that these are no new tasks. The urgent need to increase effectiveness was stressed by our Party as long ago as the end of the 'fifties. The inevitability of transition to more intensive development was emphasized by the 12th and the 13th Congresses. Today, the new feature is the degree of their urgency. What is new must be the consistency and impetus with which we shall put them into force. We must see that the whole Party and the broad strata of the working people take them up, and that the full strength of the entire society is concentrated on their fulfilment.

The Directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan

The targets and tasks of the economic policy of the Party in the next five years are expressed specifically in the Draft Directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

In political terms, the aim of the Draft Directives is to further strengthen the material-technological basis of socialism and to invigorate socialist production relations, increase the importance of the working class in society, develop the large-scale production character of co-operative farming, intensify international socialist integration and strengthen the international position of our State.

Their main purpose, on the basis of permanent development and the increasing effectiveness of social production in keeping with the socialist way of life, is to ensure a greater satisfaction of the requirements and a strengthening of the social certainties of the working people.

The Draft, based on the results of consolidation, orientates our economy towards a further permanent and proportionate economic growth, to be expressed roughly by an annual five per cent growth of the national income. The exacting character of the planned rate does not rest on a one-sided orientation on the growth of quantitative indices, which would involve the risk of undesirable fluctuations, but in the stress laid on the qualitative side of development.

The core of its exacting nature lies in tasks such as growth of labour productivity, reduction of material costs, coping with investments, substantially increasing machinery exports, linking the growth of production with the introduction of new technologies, and improvement of all financial-economic indices.

It is necessary to underline one more feature of the Directives: the demanding character of the development of the economy in future years will to a great extent also determine the fact that problems of pro-

portionality, structure and the technological standard of production, accumulated and delayed for years, as well as requirements in the sphere of services, will appear on the order of the day. Aware of our responsibility for the future development of the country, we are striving to create conditions for their gradual solution. A considerable part of investment means are, therefore, to be concentrated on a limited number of big selected projects and structural changes, which are to influence positively the effectiveness of our economy and the standard of living by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, but especially in the latter half of the 'seventies.

The Draft Directives provide of an economic advance and the solution of urgent problems in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. In the CSR it centres mainly on a concentrated development of selected industrial branches and productions, especially on the modernizing of the existing fixed assets, on the resolute solution of problems concerning Prague, the Republic's capital, on the expansion of the power and fuel basis in the interests of our economy as a whole. In the Slovak Socialist Republic the main task is to ensure an overall faster rate in industry and agriculture, based above all on greater manpower resources and on the possibilities of a more rapid expansion and full technical equipment, and thus of a better utilization of newly built modern plants. While rationally utilizing all natural, economic and human resources of both republics according to their specific possibilities, the interests of a single Czechoslovak economy are fully in keeping with the interests of the two republics. Such an approach enables us to progress further in the economic levelling of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, and at the same time, to achieve optimum common advancement.

The Draft Directives have been discussed by Party bodies and organizations. The Party *aktiv* appreciated the elaboration and the publication of the Draft Directives only two years after the Implementation Directive laid down the demand for a return to socialist planning as an important element of consolidation, as a step for the further strengthening of the role of planning.

Hence greater demands should be laid on turning the intentions of the Directives into an exacting and at the same time realistic Five-Year Plan, relying on the support and the initiative of the working people, on a high degree of mobilization of resources and reserves, on a Party approach on the part of managerial workers.

Therefore, it is necessary to regard as the first imperative of the Congress in the economic sphere that the Five-Year Plans of indus-

tries, branches, enterprises and national committees be in full harmony with the line and the aims of the Party's economic policy.

A separate report by comrade Štrougal is devoted to the concrete tasks of the Five-Year Plan. Therefore I shall take up certain basic tasks of the economic policy, which the Party must take upon itself and put into life.

The Tasks of the Party in raising the Standard of Living

Over the past 25 years, our socialist society has not only eliminated capitalist exploitation and poverty, but has also achieved a marked rise in material consumption and in the living conditions of the working people. We can justifiably say: never before in the history of this country has the working man had such certainty of existence for his life, for his future. In terms of standards of nutrition and clothing we rank among the most advanced countries. The same applies to the equipment of households with durable consumer goods — though, so far, with the exception of passenger cars. The level of social consumption of the inhabitants of this country is higher than in any capitalist state.

Nearly 1.5 million new flats with modern equipment have been built in the post-war period. Altogether one third and, in Slovakia, even half the population are now living in flats built since 1945.

In the past 15 years, we have reduced working time by six hours per week and introduced a five-day working-week. More than one third of the days in a year are not working days, and this applies to all categories of employees without exception.

All these facts must be considered from a class viewpoint: whereas under capitalism average figures conceal the profound difference between the parasitic consumption of the bourgeoisie and the low standard of the mass of the people, the overall average in this country expresses, under conditions of considerable balance, the high consumption of the broadest sections of the population.

The results attained are the source of our pride but also the yardstick of the exacting demands required to achieve a raising of the standard of living still further. The present level of the material and cultural standard together with the growth planned for 1975 pose the question of further roads for increasing the standard of living.

We must take into consideration first of all that changes in work, the development of qualifications and education, the elimination of disparities between towns and villages and changes in living environments

will more and more intensively bring about changes in the structure of the people's needs and their way of life.

It must also be taken into account that the growth in living standards has — and will for a long time — have an increasingly active influence on the expansion of the productive forces and that it represents an irreplaceable stimulus for growth in the productivity of labour.

Experience has shown us that mere expansion of production and consumption does not automatically lead towards developing the socialist way of life. It is therefore essential that socialist society should direct in a plan-based way the trends and proportions of personal and social consumption. Its rational satisfaction should be combined with increased emphasis on improvement of the overall living conditions, on a strengthening of social certainties, on raising the culture of life as a whole, on growing care for the working and living environments, on the expansion of qualifications and education, on social awareness and the strengthening of moral stimuli. We do not consider the growth of material consumption to be an end in itself but as the starting-point for the general enrichment of life and the development of the creative capacities of people, for developing those elements and aspects which strengthen the socialist way of life in society, within people, and in their mutual relations.

In view of these long-term considerations, and also of the present pressing problems, the programme for the growth of living standards in the next five years concentrates above all on the following most urgent decisive tasks:

1. On the basis of the planned growth of national income, real wages of the population will increase by roughly 5 per cent per year, which will make it possible steadily to raise personal consumption still more. In this connection, we anticipate a faster growth in sales of industrial products, especially articles designed for the better equipment of households, for sports and recreation, as well as building materials. In the next five years, about 700,000 passenger cars will be sold. In expanding motoring, it will, however, also be necessary to bear in mind the problems this expansion objectively creates, and to ensure that they do not exceed a tolerable degree.

As regards domestic trade, we require it to improve its work substantially, to raise the culture of sales, to pursue the interests of consumers. Production enterprises will be required to adapt themselves much more flexibly and in time to demand. It is their joint duty, through mutual cooperation, and the application of modern methods of marketing and improved planning, to overcome rapidly the various deficiencies in supplies for the market, which are caused by our inflexibility.

It will be necessary to raise the extent and the quality of services

quite a lot, to eliminate more rapidly the considerable shortcomings and frequently even outright abuses and speculation which evoke justified criticism on the part of working people.

2. Average wages will continue to increase. In 1975, the average wages of workers and employees will attain roughly 2,300 crowns per month. We shall resolutely apply the principle: to each according to his work, a better appreciation of honest and skilled work but also stricter sanctions in case of work badly done and of poor quality. In keeping with this principle, we shall prepare and gradually implement a remodelling of wage systems. It will be necessary to ensure harmony between the wage and salary levels in the productive and the non-productive spheres. We are preparing certain adjustments in wages and salaries in the fields of education and the health services in the near future.

3. The social certainty of the people will be strengthened still more in the next five years. We must maintain stability in the overall level of retail prices.

The Five-Year Plan also comprises measures for an adequate growth in the living standards of those who cannot take part in the process of production. We put special emphasis on measures for improving population trends, for giving greater support to families with children and to newly-weds. In the Fifth Five-Year Plan, we are reserving substantially larger funds for this purpose than in the past years. The deployment of these funds will have to be so determined as to make the best contribution to the aims set.

We shall also improve the pension scheme, gradually solve its problems and, first of all, give attention to pensioners drawing pensions according to old scales, where the need for adjustments is most pressing. The pension scheme must better serve to stimulate the voluntary prolongation of working activity.

4. In the next Five-Year Plan period, increased attention will have to be given to improving the general quality of the living and working environment, the culture of sales and services, the standard of housing and passenger transport, the state of medical care and conditions for the use of leisure time. This is of increasing importance for the contentment of the people. Investments in these spheres will therefore rise greatly in the Five-Year Plan period.

We consider one of the central questions of the living standard in the coming years to be the solution of the housing problem. We know from experience that it is not enough to proclaim a slogan but that it is necessary to work out a programme of concrete measures starting from the blue-print and territorial preparation to securing the material basis and capacity of the building industry. We have set ourselves the task of building at least 500,000 flats in the Five-Year Plan period.

I say quite openly that we did not want to proclaim an unrealistic target. The construction of more than 100,000 flats in 1970 shows that this target is a realistic one and indicates possibilities of exceeding the planned figure. At the same time, we shall spend considerable funds in the Five-Year Plan period on developing the material base of the building industry. Finally, forces and resources must be concentrated, in keeping with the Plan, on those places where the housing problem is most acute — on Prague, the North Bohemian region, and on Bratislava. The whole process of housing construction must be greatly improved and made more economical. It is necessary to improve the all-inclusive nature of construction and to halt the growth of costs per flat. Together with new construction we shall provide material and financial support for the maintenance and modernization of the existing housing fund.

Development of society has reached a stage at which a steady, balanced and all-round rise in living standards has not only become an important expression of the advantages of socialism, but also a necessary condition for its further socialist development.

We must make every effort to see that proper attention be given in all spheres to satisfying the great as well as the seemingly small needs of people.

The Programme for the effective Expansion of Production:

The attainment of the targets set for the raising of the living standard and the satisfying of the needs of society calls for a substantial rise in social production. The directives envisage a growth in the volume of industrial output by 34 to 36 per cent; in the volume of work done by building organizations by roughly 38 per cent, and a growth in agricultural production by 14 per cent, to be based mainly on the application of intensive factors of growth.

It would be difficult to realize these intentions if we were to tolerate serious shortcomings in the organization of production and labour, the failure to observe and make full use of working hours, or the violations of discipline, which we still encounter in production, at building sites and in offices. It is necessary to create everywhere a firm system and order which provides a guarantee for the fulfilment of tasks and in which there will be no fertile ground for slapdash work and irresponsibility.

Complex socialist rationalization must become a permanent method for revealing and mobilizing reserves. We have put it to the fore as an important part of organizational and managerial work, as a part of the

process of the formation and implementation of the plan at all levels of management, as an instrument designed for consistently revealing and utilizing reserves in production and other fields.

We are convinced that in this it is possible to count on the full support of the working people. Socialist rationalization is aimed at using all factors of efficiency growth and simultaneously at eliminating arduous work and at improving working conditions. It also creates a new basis for promoting the initiative of working people and socialist emulation.

We know how many critical words have been addressed to the managerial apparatus. We cannot be indifferent to the question of how many people are working in the sphere of management and administration, frequently inefficiently and with outdated methods. Here, too, we must take the road of economizing, rationalization and raising efficiency.

Reconstruction of the entire process of reproduction on the basis of rational organization is an indispensable condition for our national economy to be effective and for the application of scientific and technological progress. Experience shows that modern science and technology become most quickly and most deeply rooted in those places where the ground for this has been well prepared from an organizational point of view. Comprehensive socialist rationalization is in this sense also the basic access road for the faster application of science and technology.

Scientific and technological Development, first and foremost

Many times it has been said that under the present conditions, now that science has become a direct force of production, the rate of application of scientific and technological progress is the main prerequisite for the implementation of our plans, the main lever for developing the socialist economy. Although the results we have attained are not small, the new tasks make it imperative that we substantially speed up scientific and technological development.

The most important point at present is to put the achievements of research into practice more resolutely. Changing production programmes, raising the technical and technological level of production and products and their use-value provide a highly effective road for the introduction of new technology. Raising effectiveness requires that we manage to invest into production much more creative scientific and technological thinking and knowledge.

It is naturally much easier to stick to established production and traditional methods. This carries with it less risk and conflict. However, this road cannot be taken by a socialist economy. We must fight today with the same energy with which we fought for its consolidation, for its

technical and economic growth. A novel approach and efforts to achieve technological development must become the main feature of the Party influence to be exerted by leading executives in the economic sphere.

However, emphasis on the speeding up of technological development should not result in a scattering of forces and resources or in inducing us to stop strictly calculating what will bring adequate economic effect most quickly. I think that, in future, resources in enterprises, in whole sectors and branches, as well as in the entire national economy will have to be concentrated in a more planned and consistent way for the solution of the main tasks, those of modernization, of complex mechanization and also the automation of complete sections and production shops, of the complex introduction of complete sets of new technology, with a view to ensuring highest effectivity.

The acceleration of scientific and technological development under socialist conditions must take the form of a uniform State technological policy giving concrete form to the economic strategy of the Party. Even in this respect, it is also true that the assertion of narrow local, enterprise, sector and departmental interests is harmful.

The importance of scientific and technological progress demands that we take its realization as one of the starting points of all managerial and planning activity. It also requires corresponding changes to be made in the conception and the roles of scientific, research, and designing centres.

It is essential that we link our scientific and research base more effectively with the needs of socio-economic development.

The directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan represent a certain progress in this respect as well. However, it will be necessary, in proportion to the concentration and specialization of production, to proceed to make more marked reductions in the number of research tasks, to concentrate research on selected programmes and to integrate it to a much greater extent with international socialist scientific and technological cooperation.

We realize that in order to speed up scientific and technological progress and to produce self-sacrificing work in the implementation of the exacting tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, it will be necessary to win over all talented, capable scientific workers and technical experts, all our scientific and technical intelligentsia. We consider this to be a demanding and extremely necessary task for all Party organizations.

The acceleration of technological development during the Five-Year Plan period is connected with the need to improve the historically created structure of our production, especially in industrial production. In the next Five-Year Plan period, the most dynamic development

will be that of the chemical industry and the closely related process of the chemicalizing of the national economy.

Important, structural changes are taking place in the engineering industry. In this sphere it is particularly true that further growth cannot be a mere expansion of existing production in its present structure. Much faster growth must be attained in the progressive branches which determine the rate of the technological development of the entire economy and are of decisive importance for the incorporation of our economy into international socialist integration. The importance and the exacting character of this task makes it necessary to start quite earnestly and without delay on its factual elaboration. It must, at the same time, be stated what kind of production will not be developed further, and which needs we shall cover by imports. This will frequently entail the halting of existing production and the introduction of new production lines. This usually involves certain difficulties. However, we can no longer retreat from them, we must begin to solve them consistently and sensitively.

The solution of the process of structural change must find a much more important place in the work of managing bodies, starting with the Government and down to the enterprises themselves. It calls for an intensification and improvement in structural and inter-branch planning, while fully respecting the demands of proportionality.

The volume of investments in the next Five-Year Plan period will be about 520,000 million crowns. The future development of the economy, the entire society and living standard of the people will depend to a great extent on how effectively we shall use these enormous means. But it is in this sphere that we have the greatest number of problems and weaknesses.

The demanding character of the investments programme reflects the considerable number of large technically exacting complexes and projects which will be started in the coming years. Moreover, there will be an increasing concentration of capital construction in several areas, making it necessary to carry out extensive transfers of building capacity. It is urgently necessary to improve the management of capital construction, beginning with the centre.

In the final stages of the draft of the next Five-Year Plan, it will be necessary to check the technological and economic standards of and preparations for these planned projects. After the experiences of the past, we must not permit an excessive increase in new construction started or in the volume of unfinished construction, with its well-known negative consequences for the entire economy.

The Development of the international Socialist Division of Labour

In the programme of further socio-economic development in the years to come, an ever more important role will be played by the international socialist division of labour. We regard this, with its economic aspects, as a major factor facilitating the strengthening of the unity and closer rapprochement of the socialist countries.

The common long-term programme of economic integration of the countries associated in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, now also being worked out for our economy, opens up broader possibilities of participating in the development of the world socialist economic system, and of drawing new strength and resources from this link-up for developing and increasing the effectiveness of our economy.

Present-day scientific and technological development depends upon the creation of appropriate conditions, especially on the size of capacities, on the extent of production, the range of products, and sales possibilities. No small country, and today not even a medium-sized country can create the necessary conditions by itself. The only way of enabling us to overcome the limitations of our domestic market and domestic resources in the solution of the new tasks is the development of the international socialist division of labour. That is why it plays an irreplaceable role in the transition towards intensive development.

In theory, we have long acknowledged this to be true, but efforts are still being made to produce everything by ourselves, regardless of costs. We produce about three-quarters of all the machinery we put into use; in other countries, comparable to ours, this share is 25—50 per cent. This necessarily gives rise to a technological and economic lag, to growing costs and export difficulties. The Czechoslovak manufacturing industries, particularly the engineering industry, must without any procrastination start limiting the existing wide range of products and concentrate on developing programmes which it will be possible to promote in keeping with the requirements of the international socialist division of labour.

International socialist integration is of fundamental importance for us also from the point of view of the class and political stability of our economy and its socialist prospects. *The Ninth Soviet Five-Year Plan presents a stable, and the same time, dynamic, basis for the Czechoslovak economy, on which it is possible to proceed with assurance in unfolding a programme of further economic and technological development.*

The advantages arising from socialist economic integration will not, of course, be automatically forthcoming. They require an initiating approach on the part of all our institutions, from central bodies down

to enterprises. It is essential that the plan-based incorporation of our economy into international integration be made an integral part of the plans of national economic development. If we want to make use of the international division of labour, it is we who must display initiative. In the system of management, it is essential to fashion suitable instruments which would stimulate the interest of enterprises in the international division of labour. One of the political tasks will be to overcome unhealthy national isolation, which often covers up narrow enterprise and local interests, or even an underestimation of the results of the development of the other socialist countries.

After all, relations with the socialist countries do not preclude our extending effective and advantageous commercial, scientific and technological contacts with the capitalist countries.

In keeping with the overall economic line, we must also seek greater effectiveness in the field of foreign trade. There are considerable reserves in this sphere. To uncover them, we shall have to improve substantially the economic, organizational and commercial work of all elements of foreign trade, including market surveys, and raise the qualifications of our workers, also we shall have to promote an effective link-up between production and foreign trade, in accordance with socialist principles. Last but not least, the active role of foreign trade must be promoted in so far as its pressure can be exerted to ensure the raising of the economic and technical standards of production.

A new Stage in agricultural Production

The Directives lay special emphasis on the further development of agricultural production. The main task for the next few years is to extend and improve food supplies for the population, and to cover the increase in consumption of basic foodstuffs by our own production. In the Fifth Five-Year Plan, this will require an increase of about 20 per cent in the State purchase of agricultural products.

We are confident that our agricultural workers, who proved by their work in the crisis-ridden years to what a great extent they had identified themselves with our socialist society and with socialist agricultural large-scale production, I repeat, we are confident that they will fulfil this exacting task as well.

It is the policy of the Party in the agricultural sphere, too, consistently to strive for intensification, for the further development of industrial methods, for the mobilizing of reserves through rationalization and the application of scientific and technological progress.

On the present level, further growth of agricultural production de-

depends directly on an extension of its material and technological base, as well as on the creation of economic conditions conducive to the growth of production. In the Five-Year Plan period, investments into agriculture — including the means provided by cooperatives — will be 21 per cent higher than in the Fourth Five-Year period. By 1975, the consumption of chemical fertilizers will rise to 220 kg of pure nutrients per hectare of farm land. The output of mixed fodder is to reach five million tons in 1975.

Our engineering industry must ensure the development and supply of high-performance agricultural machinery and technological equipment, as well as the technical restructuring of our agriculture. The problem of sufficient quantities of spare parts, about which there are still so many complaints, also cannot be shelved indefinitely.

Agriculture is entering upon a new, important stage in its development of its production forces. Large-scale production technology and equipment is already beginning to exceed the scope, the possibilities and the size of our agricultural enterprises. Its effective use makes it necessary to begin with a gradual concentration of production along with the simultaneous promotion of specialization, both in crop and animal production. This will make it possible to make more effective use of labour and the means of production, and to achieve further substantial growth in the social productivity of labour.

We see the main road towards the concentration of production forces in the next period to lie in the creation and deepening of voluntary co-operative relationships between agricultural enterprises, while ensuring full social effectiveness. The State policy of investments, subsidies and grants will also be geared to this.

This entire demanding process of concentration and specialization, which goes beyond the Five-Year Plan period, will have to be directed in a plan-based way, and be prepared in all respects on the basis of thorough economic calculations. For this purpose, it will be essential to work out a long-term realistic programme of further all-round development of agriculture for the next 10—15 years.

Further development in the chemicalizing and mechanization of agricultural large-scale production will eliminate more and more effectively the differences between work in industry and agriculture. It will also make agricultural work more attractive for young people, and provide them with broader prospects of making full use of their abilities. It will make it possible for us to raise still higher the living standards of agricultural workers and to improve the entire way of life in rural areas. We are convinced that all this will cement the ties of the working class with cooperative farmers.

Improving Management

The growth of effectiveness of the national economy and each of its elements depends on the standard of organizational and managerial work in every workshop, enterprise, sectoral directorate and ministry. Mastering the complex socio-economic and scientific-technological process in the present development stage is an enormously exacting economic and organizational, as well as political, task.

The results we have achieved over the past 25 years convincingly demonstrate the advantages of the socialist system of management, based on the social ownership of the means of production, on planning, democratic centralism, the leading role of the Party in the economy, and on promoting the initiative of the people.

The system of management must be constantly adjusted to new conditions and targets if the advantages of socialism are to be made full use of. The need for this was one of the foremost interests of the Party and society in the past decade. We took many correct steps, but we also committed many mistakes. The conclusions of the 12th Congress, of the 1965 plenary session of the Party Central Committee, and basically, also, the conclusions of the 13th Congress, pointed out essentially the right direction to be taken to improve the system of management. This direction was in keeping with the needs of our economy, as well as with the general endeavours of the socialist countries in this sphere. However, the question of management was exploited by the rightist forces, which, under the slogan of a market model, attempted to liquidate the socialist management of the economy.

Since the April plenary session of 1969, we have practically cleansed the system of management of those thrown up by the revisionist tide, adhering instead to the main original intentions of the Party concerning its improvement. The results of consolidation have confirmed that it is now basically fulfilling its task, though not without mistakes. We need to place planning on a firm scientific foundation, to strengthen the role of the central plan, to turn the financial and credit system into an effective system regulating relations between the State and the enterprise, to work out effective instruments in support of the effectivity of exports, to master the management of capital construction, to improve the system of material incentives for enterprises and individuals, and to transform the price system into an effective tool for measuring costs and for bringing pressure for their reduction. The Directives set out a number of requirements for increasing the effectivity of our economy. Much demanding work and effort will still be required before our system of management will provide effective assistance in putting these requirements into operation.

In the further development of the system of management we must link up with all the good and well-tried experience of the past and also make use of the findings of the fraternal countries, especially the USSR. We must improve the system of socialist management so that it effectively implements the basic intentions of the economic policy of the Party.

Attention must primarily be concentrated on improving the system of national economic planning. The standard of central economic planning is the decisive factor for the quality of the system of planned management. Since April 1969 we have done much to strengthen the role of the Plan.

From the point of view of the need to improve the system of planned management, however, we must go further. Its improvement can now be promoted by the use of modern mathematical methods and computer technology, which we must fully master. Only in such a way is it possible to master the task of scientific perspective forecasting of the development of the needs of society and the most effective ways of meeting them, and on this basis to improve the compiling of long-term, medium-term and operative plans.

Hand in hand with the significant raising of the quality of planning, goes the effective use of objectively operating value instruments and economic levers in support of the aims of the Plan. We have exposed and defeated the revisionist concept of absolutization of the market and negation of the role of the plan. However, in the struggle for the effectivity of all links in production we must also make active use of the system of economic instruments to bring economic pressure to bear on production.

The quality of management is for us also a question of the specific level of managerial and organizational work, which cannot be replaced by even the most perfect system. The frequent shortcomings with which we have to cope are also caused by the fact that carelessness, red-tape and irresponsibility have become rooted in many sections of management and these are then presented as shortcomings of the socialist system of management.

These phenomena, in the same way as opportunism in managerial work, unprincipled retreat in face of difficulties, the toleration of shortcomings at the expense of society, must be consistently rooted out. This requires a clear definition of organizational and managerial relations, of the status and competence of the individual links in management, the strengthening of the personnel policy of the Party, the implementation of full personal authority and responsibility on the part of executives.

To each according to his Work

We consider the work of executives to be activity with a political content. The decisions they take have far-reaching influence on the implementation of the policy of the Party in the given sector. That is why we want to enhance their role, give them full confidence and support, but also increase the demands made upon them and their control. The Party and the socialist system cannot and will not take upon itself responsibility for their specific mistakes, but will openly criticize them.

We must therefore require from executives, especially communists, that they expend all their ability on raising effectivity in every sector. In our personnel policy, too, the main requirement must be exactingness both in the political and in the expert sense. Systematic selection, the consistent training of personnel, regular evaluation mainly according to the results of work, must be raised to a higher level as part of the fundamental essence of managerial work. Together with this we must strengthen the control function of Party organizations, so that they will see to the consistent implementation of the Party line.

We must pay great attention to the building up of the whole structure of management from the ministries to sectoral directorates and enterprises, and we must take care that the tasks of all sectors in management are clearly defined on the basis of democratic centralism, likewise their inter-relations, and the responsibility and effective division of decision-making, which must be in keeping with the objective trends towards concentration of production and the raising of the effectivity of management.

Our society provides all the conditions for the development of the broadest participation of the working people in management. And we not only have the conditions but also a set of specific and well-tried forms of participation by the people, namely production meetings, Trade Union jurisdiction, the public discussion of the role of the plan and the control of its fulfilment, the submitting of reports to the management by work teams, and socialist emulation. So the point at issue is not that we should artificially construe new forms but that, first of all, we should restore those that are well-tried, as well as the great traditions of our revolution and socialist construction, the symbol of which was that the organizer and representative of working people's participation in management was the Trade Union movement. This wealth of forms must be fully brought to life, the experience and initiative of the people must be carefully studied and generalized, and everything new and valuable emerging from it must be fostered.

When we consider the extent of the task in the economy it is evident that exceptional obligations ensue from this for the whole Party and

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In summarizing our tasks in the economic sphere, we may say that we have every reason to be optimistic and to have confidence in the future. The tasks we are solving ourselves are demanding but realizable. They express our desire to do everything to make the life of our people day by day richer and more abundant. We are convinced that our people will fully surpass this yearly material growth by their work.

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR SOCIETY AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

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ಇಂತಹ ಪ್ರವೃತ್ತಿಗೂ ಮನಸ್ಸು ನೀಡ ದಿಶಾಬದ್ಧವಾಗುವುದು ಆ ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕ ಖಾಲಿಗಾಗಿ, ಲೇಖನ
ಮುಂದುವರಿದು.

“ഇ ഇ മിഷൻ വർഗ്ഗം ഈ ൧ വമ്പിച്ചുള്ള കലിപ്പറമ്പിലുള്ള ഒരു മിഷൻ, ഇ ഇ മിഷൻ-
ഷൻ നഗ്ന വെച്ച് ൨൦ ശതകാലം വരെ ജീവിക്കുകയും, ഇതിനോട് അതി രണ്ടുനാളിടത്തും,
നാലു വെച്ച് ൨൦ കലിപ്പറമ്പിലും വെച്ച് ൨൦ ശതകാലം വെച്ച്, ഇ ഇ മിഷൻഷൻ ൨൦ കലിപ്പറമ്പിലും കലിപ്പറമ്പിലും

all private ownership of the means of production, it is necessary to completely eliminate in this way the differences between the town and the countryside, as well as the differences between manual and brain workers. And this is a very long process. In order to implement it, tremendous progress must be made in the expansion of the production forces, it is necessary to overcome the resistance (often passive resistance, which is especially steadfast and which it is particularly hard to overcome) of the numerous remnants of small-scale production, it is necessary to bring an end to the tremendous force of habit and inertia linked with these remnants."

It is evident that the construction and development of socialist society in its class, political, ideological and economic contexts is a long process, which in all its aspects must be respected. The aim of the policy of our Party is to bring the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other social groups, closer together, to bridge the differences between the town and the countryside, brain-work and manual work. Certain successes and progress in this respect have been achieved in this country during the years of socialist construction. It must be repeated again that it is possible to bring classes and social groups closer together, to strengthen the unity of the people, only on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology which expresses the objective interests of the working class and the practical implementation of socialist aims.

A strong and advanced working class is and will remain the leading force in the development of our socialist society. In the past years, the revisionists tried to cast doubts on this basic thesis of Marxism. The working class in this country is the most numerous basic class of society, accounting for nearly 80 per cent of the population and is the chief producer of its material values; through its consciousness, organization and revolutionary experience and its actual class interests it is the main guarantee of socialist power and of the revolutionary achievements of the people, and is the basic force which will lead the development of society ahead, in the interests of all working people. Our Party as a party of the working class will exert all efforts to strengthen this leading role of the working class, so that, by enhancing its education, culture, political and class consciousness, the working class will be the main fighter for political, economic and technological development in society, for a socialist way of life.

The fifty years' history of our Party shows that the working class fought against the bourgeoisie and for the socialist transformation of society in alliance with the farmers, this being the political basis of the power of the working people in this country. With the increasing successes of cooperative agriculture, a new class of cooperative farmers

has come into existence, which is a reliable ally of the working class and a firm pillar of our socialist society. Agricultural large-scale production has substantially changed the work and the position of the farmer and his material and cultural standard as compared to the widely dispersed small-scale production. Increasing use of technology and machinery in farm production brings work in agriculture closer to work in industry and the levelling out of social and cultural differences between the town and the countryside is advancing successfully. This process will be intensified, mainly through collaboration between cooperatives and by further supplies of technical and material equipment to agriculture. The recent years of crisis have convinced us that socialist forms of farming have become rooted in the minds of cooperative farmers: our unified agricultural cooperatives remained organizationally firm and consolidated, and their production and the standard of living of the farmers have a rising trend. Life in our villages today is different, happier and more cultured.

The process of socialist construction brings greater cohesion to the working class, farmers and the intelligentsia. A high percentage of our new intelligentsia, its overwhelming part originates from the families of workers and farmers. This process of cohesion is especially noticeable right in the sphere of material production.

The mission of the socialist intelligentsia lies in the task of devoting its creative energies to the people and in making an all-round contribution towards the progress of socialist society. From the standpoint of tradition, of the historical heritage of our country and also from the point of view of conditions in the present world, this is the most honourable historical task, which our intelligentsia can fulfil. Many shortcomings in the work of the Party in the past resulted in part of the intelligentsia tending to feel superior and privileged. The petty-bourgeois revolt in 1968 asserted the thesis about an intelligentsia élite, which was to have led society. The right-wing grossly abused its almost monopoly position in the mass communication media for manipulating the "lower strata", i.e. the millions of working people. We not only reject these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas about the position of the social classes and strata, but from our Czechoslovak example we have also convinced ourselves to what catastrophes they lead. Socialist society supports the increase in education, culture, science and all strata of the intelligentsia with tremendous means. It holds in esteem the work of the intelligentsia which helps advance socialist society and, together with the workers and farmers, participates in positive work. We shall take care to supplement the intelligentsia from the ranks of the working class and cooperative farmers and to strengthen its cohesion with the working people, with the aims of socialism and com-

munism. We should like all parts of the intelligentsia to give their knowledge, their skill and their efforts towards the advancement of the socialist homeland. In this sphere a great deal of political-educational work awaits us.

We are Internationalists

Support must be given to the essential process of bringing together the working class, cooperative farmers, socialist intelligentsia and the other social strata on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the basis of the development of socialism.

Our country is inhabited by the Czech and Slovak nations, and by people of Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian and German nationality. Throughout the course of its history, our Party has fought for the Leninist principles of equality and equal rights in relations among nations and nationalities. We have crowned the development of relations between our nations with the Leninist principle of a federative structure for our State. It should be added that the federative structure, although a novelty in this country and despite the short experience of it, has proved to be a success and has become a positive factor both for the development of our nations and nationalities and for the strengthening of the Czechoslovak state. We shall continue to promote this Leninist form of relations between our nations and strive for an optimum development of both our republics and, at the same time, for a strengthening of the unity, power and prosperity of the whole State.

The nationality problem is a very sensitive one, in which many experiences from the past and many nationalist prejudices survive. It is one of the spheres where hostile, reactionary and various revisionist forces strive to get a foothold and weaken socialist society. Our Party is internationalist in character, it is an integrating force among the working people of both our nations and our nationalities. It must therefore cement and hold together the working class, the farmers and the intelligentsia of both nations and the other nationalities, in a common socialist aim and on the basis of a unified Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy.

It is necessary to wage a struggle against nationalist survivals, wherever they may appear in this country, whether in our domestic or our international connections. While being proud of our national, democratic and revolutionary traditions, we shall educate the working people of both our nations and our nationalities towards proletarian internationalism and fraternity, and we shall try to strengthen the

unity of the working people's Czechoslovak consciousness. The development of socialist nations and nationalities is not in contradiction to the development of a federative socialist state, on the contrary, they are closely connected. Therefore, the strengthening of the socialist awareness of all citizens, the emphasizing of their affinity, their common interests and aims, are among the most foremost tasks of our internationalist Party, among the foremost tasks of strengthening the socialist state.

In the course of our working class and working people's struggle with the bourgeoisie, political and state power in Czechoslovakia passed into the hands of the people. A fundamental class change took place. The ruling bourgeoisie was overthrown and the exploited masses of workers and farmers became the ruling and decisive force in the State. It is a class State of the working people and it is an instrument for carrying out the class and socialist aims of the workers, farmers and other strata of the working people. In this sphere, too, in the past many ideas were distorted and interpreted in a revisionist way. By means of abstract terms about the State and democracy, groups of revisionist and anti-socialist forces actually strove to overthrow the power of the working class and the working people in this country and to seize the important power instruments of this State. For this reason the basic class aspects of the function of the State and its bodies will have to be clarified again.

Opportunist neglect of these Leninist ideas of class approach to the function of the State caused us immense damage.

The State is an Instrument of Class Power

Today we can say that the Czechoslovak socialist State is fulfilling the function of being the instrument of the class power of the workers, the farmers and the other working people, and it is gradually improving its methods of work in organizational, economic, educational, cultural, defence and all other spheres. We shall strengthen our Czechoslovak socialist State and work out its various component parts and functions, so that it will fulfil its mission in the all-round development of society.

The power of the working people makes itself evident in this country through the many-sided forms of socialist democracy. We have never concealed the fact that socialist democracy is a class democracy for the million-strong strata of the working people.

The basic form of the rule of the working people is the system of national committees and representative bodies. The national committees deal directly and immediately with the problems of the working people in the community, the town, the district and the region. To a high degree, the contentment of the working people and their growing participation in management and administration depends on their work. More than 220,000 deputies work in these bodies, and together with the activists in the citizens' committees, commissions and other bodies, the total amounts to more than half a million voluntary co-laborators from the ranks of the citizens. These bodies have done a tremendous job since they were set up after the war. However, there are still only too many shortcomings in their work, often evident in an insensitive approach to the citizen, in that they fail to solve consistently the problems for which they are responsible. National committees, as directly elected bodies of the people, should work in such a way that the citizens look upon them as their good representatives, as the people who deal with their day-to-day and perspective interests and requirements in such a way as not to tolerate mis-management, irresponsibility, the enrichment of individuals, favouritism and many another evils. The Party must devote increased attention to the work of the national committees and especially to the work of communists in these broadly-based people's bodies, and it must concern itself especially with the development of all forms of direct participation of citizens in the management and administration of their towns and communities and our State.

In the not-too-distant future, elections are to be held in this country to elect the members of the national committees and all the representative bodies. In these bodies the position of the working class and the other working people must be strengthened, the representation of women and young people must be increased substantially, and maximum effort must be exerted towards improving the work of this important link in our social order and socialist democracy.

The supreme elements in our representative system, namely the Federal Assembly, and the Czech and Slovak National Councils, are the representatives of the power of the people in our State. In accordance with the Constitution and with our socialist principles, these bodies bear great responsibility for implementing the basic class interests of the working people, both in the national and in the federal frameworks. They can fulfil this demanding mission only through the close alliance of deputies with the national committees and their electors.

We attach great importance to perfecting socialist legislation, so that it should be in keeping with the present requirements of the

development of our State and with the protection of citizens and society.

The Federal Government and both national governments have carried out a great deal of positive work in the course of the consolidation process.

The success of our further development will greatly depend on the standard of their work, on its conceptual quality in the different sections of the entire complex State organism, on the consistent implementation of the Party policy and the sense of responsibility of every link and the effectiveness of their work.

Recent years have again taught us how much socialist society needs reliable, well-prepared bodies of power for the protection of the revolutionary achievements against the external and internal enemy.

We live on the frontier of the imperialist world and must not lose sight, even for a moment, of the fact that we must be prepared, together with our allies, for the defence of our national and State independence, and for that of the socialist system. We are safeguarding this role within the framework of the common efforts of the Warsaw Treaty countries, relying on firm, indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union.

The defence of our freedom and of the socialist achievements is a constant task for the whole of society, not only for the armed forces, but also for all the State and social organizations and institutions, which secure the tasks of the defence of the country in a complex way within the unified defence system of the State. These tasks have been greatly neglected. The Party has therefore adopted measures for intensifying the defence education of the population, particularly the youth, so as to strengthen the unity of the army and the people, so that the defence of our socialist State will be the honourable and patriotic duty of every citizen. The Party devotes great attention to the strengthening of the defence of the State and especially to the armed forces, our people's army, which is the instrument of power of the working class and the working people, and a component part of the working people and protects their interests. In the past two years our people's army has been strengthened, political work in its ranks and combat preparedness have improved. Much still needs to be improved and perfected in the Party-political work and political-ideological education within the army, and also on the demands for combat preparedness. Now that the cleansing and other measures have been carried out, our army is today morally and politically on such a level of preparedness that, together with the allied armies, it can fulfil the tasks which the people expect of it in case of danger.

The People's Militia has played a very positive role in the defence

of socialist achievements, over the last twenty years. Sincere gratitude is due to it for this. It holds a firm position in the overall defence system of the State. We shall continue to strengthen and invigorate the People's Militia and pay increased attention to it.

The security bodies play an important role in the protection of our socialist system. In the struggle against disruptive elements, against criminality, in the protection of public order and citizens' rights, in the protection of the socialist system and against the subversive activities of imperialism they are doing valuable work, which is being systematically improved. We shall lead the workers in the security bodies towards a consistent observance of socialist legality, towards the protection of our social order and towards vigilance against all external and internal enemy forces.

In past years, the observance of laws and the socialist legal code, were greatly violated. It is necessary to engage in great political-educational work in regard to respect for the law in the interests of the citizen and the interests of society, and in regard to the observance of the norms of socialist life. The respecting of laws and justice must become a natural phenomenon in our society.

In the struggle for order and discipline, for the observance of our laws, especially in the economic sphere, an important role falls to the units and bodies of people's control. The system of work of these bodies, which is taking final shape and must be steadily improved, is to combine expert knowledge with the broad social commitment of the working people. Control is an important part of management, and the participation of the working people in it represents an important part of socialist democracy. It should be said that there are still many shortcomings in this sphere and much more attention will have to be paid to questions of control.

The implementation of our socialist aims in all spheres pre-supposes precise, well-organized and effective work on the part of the State and the economic apparatus. After cleansing this apparatus, from the point of view of loyalty to socialism, emphasis will have to be laid on combatting the surviving tendency towards bureaucracy, irresponsibility and an inexpedient inflation of this apparatus, on the rationalization of its work, and on a committed political approach to the implementation of the tasks entrusted to it.

In a socialist system, working people participate in managing society not only through the representative bodies and State organs, but also through the wide network of mass organizations and political parties associated in the National Front.

Social Organizations, the Pillars of Socialism

The most important role in drawing the working people into the management of society should be played by a well functioning Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which, in this country, associates about five-and-a-half million members. The trade unions participate in the solving of economic development problems at every place of work, in every plant and at all levels of our social system. Following a period of disruption, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is today again gradually resuming its important role in the national economic sphere as well as in educating working people to adopt a socialist attitude to work and to social ownership and in caring for the cultural and social needs and for the health of the working people, as well as the protection on the legitimate interests of the working people. In the forthcoming period, it will be necessary to overcome the mistakes of the pre-January period, which resulted in considerable formalism in trade union activities, as well as those of the post-January period, which was marked by revisionist disruption throughout the trade unions; it will be necessary to elaborate the whole wide range of the manifold activities of this powerful mass organization in order to enhance its role and to make better use of the possibilities which it provides as one of the important component parts of our political system. The role of school of socialist education, which is to be fulfilled by the trade unions, means, on the one hand, the consistent defence of the legitimate interests and needs of the working people against the various manifestations of red tape and the violation of the law, and on the other, it implies education directed towards upholding the interests of the entire society and socialist norms of life and work, and towards developing the initiative of millions of working people. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement can play an exceptional role in raising the consciousness of the working people and winning them over for the policy of our Party.

The Party will consistently support the activities of the trade unions and will ensure that communists work in them who are capable of winning over the millions of working people for the cause of socialism, as was emphasized by V. I. Lenin. The Party must see to it that the trade unions consistently fulfil their revolutionary role of being a school of management, a school of economy, a school of communism.

Our socialist society has given political, social and cultural equality to women. The proportion of women in the process of production is great and is constantly rising. This creates problems in relation to the women's tasks in the family, in the education of children.

The representation of women in political, public and social functions in the course of years has for many reasons declined although their active work in Party and trade union bodies, in the national committees and all the elements of our political system would result in a much more rapid elimination of the shortcomings which are still felt to a considerable extent by employed mothers. It will be necessary to elaborate a whole set of measures in connection with the high employment rate of women, with easing the conditions of work of women in the family, in the education of their children, in strengthening the family. This is all the more necessary since the rapid decline in our population growth-rate is creating a tense situation in the labour force and is in many sectors becoming a factor limiting further development.

Children and young people up to the age of thirty today represent almost half the population in this country. Their socialist and expert education at schools, in the family, at places of work, in every institution concerned with children, is of immense social importance. Party, State and social bodies must devote much greater attention to the socialist education of young people, so that they may see the purpose of their life and their self-assertion to lie in active, conscious, responsible work for the development of our socialist society.

An important place in the education of the younger generation is held by the Socialist Union of Youth and its Pioneer Organization. It is their task to help the Party in the exacting training of the younger generation for its present and future missions, to lead their members to take an active part in the life of society, to have a sense of socialist patriotism and internationalist feeling. In the work of the Socialist Union of Youth, too, it is necessary to avoid the mistakes of the past, regardless of whether they manifested themselves in formalism and a simplified view of the life of young people or are the remnants of the activities of the rightist and revisionist forces of recent years. Youth comprises various groups of workers, farmers, specialists, students, etc. The Socialist Union of Youth must find forms of work with each group of young people, and also satisfy and develop their interests and needs in the fields of culture, sports, etc. We must assert the principle that young people should participate to a much greater extent directly in the work of Party bodies, trade unions, the National Front, as well as State and representative bodies, so that they may gain experience in public and political work, and contribute their enthusiasm and determination to the construction of our homeland. It is necessary to pass on the experience of the older generation to young people, and to educate them to become a new, well-prepared shift for managing our society. It is necessary to strengthen the Party core

within the organizations of the Socialist Union of Youth and therefore to admit young people to a greater extent into the Party.

Our social security system, which is of a high standard, enables our working people to retire at a relatively early age to deserved rest. We have a considerable number of pensioners. This is an important social group which in certain towns represents as much as a quarter or an even greater fraction of the population. A relationship towards this older generation of people, who have been honestly working for decades, care for them, providing them with opportunities for asserting themselves, for making use of their experience as well as the solution of certain sore points, are among our essential tasks.

An important place in the healthy development of socialist society is held by mass physical training and sports which help to improve the physical health and the moral qualities of the people, to raise their capacity for defence and to attain self-fulfilment. Our unified physical training movement has achieved many positive results. We appreciate the activities of its workers, especially among young people. However, there are also many shortcomings in this field with which we cannot be satisfied. Means for mass physical training and sports are dispersed and insufficiently used and inadequate thought is being given to facilities for this sector in the construction of our towns and villages. We shall have to make a complex analysis of and consider ways of improving and intensifying mass physical training and sports, not only within the framework of unified physical training but also in social organizations, national committees, enterprises, schools, etc. We shall also have to pay attention to the problems of top performance sports in order to ensure the effective representation of our State.

We also appreciate the work of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society, which played a great role in past years in strengthening Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. We likewise value the work of the numerically extensive cooperative movement and the other components of the National Front.

The political parties and mass organizations, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, are today associated in our country in the National Front, as it took shape in the course of our revolution and our socialist construction. We look upon the National Front as a class alliance of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia, other section of the working people and their organizations, communists, members of other political parties and citizens without political affiliation, an alliance of the Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities on the territory of our State. It will now be necessary, through the National Front and its member organizations, to see that they take an ever wider part in political

and public life and its management. The National Front continues to have its function in our political system, and its member organizations must lead the millions of working people towards strengthening socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism, fraternal relations among our nations and nationalities, towards re-enforcing the unity and strength of our State.

We shall win the Battle for People's Minds

The bitter experience through which we have passed has taught us what a high price has to be paid for neglecting all forms of ideological work and the political education of working people. As in the case of the construction of the material and technological base of socialism, so it is also a fundamental question of the activity of the Party to win over the working people for our policy, to constantly strengthen the unity of the Party and the people and to deepen the moral and political unity of society. The main purpose of the political and ideological work of the Party and other component parts of our political and State system is to educate man towards thinking and acting in a socialist way. We need people who are thoroughly trained who have specialized education, a high cultural level, who are imbued with political and ideological enthusiasm and are fully devoted to socialism. Socialist awareness, even in our conditions, is not born automatically merely by the change in living and working conditions. It is the result of purposeful educational work based on the influence exerted by socialist gains. Wherever our own ideological influence weakens, wherever our ideological activities as well as political and cultural education are lagging, scope is provided for hostile trends and petty-bourgeois attitudes grown.

The fulfilment of all tasks depends on our art of developing and mobilizing the abilities of people, their creative energies, their moral qualities, on our successes in the purposeful moulding of socialist man. Lenin considered this task to be one of the basic tasks of a long-term and ambitiously conceived cultural revolution, in which the class struggle for new socialist relations, for the development of the economy and all spheres of society is organically and inseparably linked with the fight for a new world outlook, for the scientific ideology of the working class — Marxism-Leninism. Just as the system of exploitation and oppression promoted human selfishness, ruthlessness and indifference to the fate of others, the socialist system provides conditions for fostering in man a respect for honest work, for comradely relations, love of one's homeland, solidarity with the fight of the working people

and nations against exploitation and oppression throughout the world.

The moulding of socialist man, his positive qualities, socialist morale, civic responsibility and high working discipline, his striving for greater knowledge and his own development is a highly exacting task, the fulfilment of which is essential for the growth of socialist society. The more intensively the Party and the entire State organism devote themselves to this responsible work, the stronger the social system of socialism will be, and the greater the ability of the working class and all working people to administer their own State, to consciously and purposefully shape their future.

It is particularly important to lead young people in this direction, in order that they keep pace with time and meet the requirements of the contemporary and future tasks of our society, that they be educated, honest and diligent, and proud of their socialist homeland, of the great opportunities socialism is providing them, but also of responsibility in the struggle for a new tomorrow.

In drawing up a balance-sheet of Party work in the years since the 13th Congress, we must note that in implementing this historical task — the moulding of a socialist man, especially the younger generation — we neglected and failed to think over many things, and thus essentially cleared the field for the influence of petty-bourgeois, rightist and revisionist trends. Since April 1969, we have been exerting great efforts to overcome the disruption caused by the rightist and anti-socialist forces. However, we know that conceptual, well-thought out and long-term work in the ideological sphere, in the political education of the masses, still awaits us.

The struggle for the socialist profile of our people is at the same time an ideological struggle against all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals, currents and trends still persisting among certain strata of society, or which are the consequence of systematic ideological subversion on the part of the imperialist world. The past years have brought much proof of the subversive work of the imperialist centre against Czechoslovakia and its socialist system, and of the gross interference in our internal affairs. This subversive work is still going on today, either as the lying, slanderous campaigns of the bourgeois news service "Free Europe" and other similar channels of imperialist propaganda, or in other various forms and methods. The ideological and class struggle continues, and we can expect nothing from imperialists that would be of advantage to our socialist system, to our Party. Therefore, the whole Party must maintain vigilance against all forms of diversion. It has already been said many times that, in the ideological sphere, there can be no peaceful coexistence, no retreat before hostile views, no compromising with survivals of

the former society based on exploitation. The harmonization of all the means of Party, social and State bodies for moulding socialist man, for exerting a principled, consistent influence in the Marxist-Leninist spirit, is one of our most pressing tasks.

We face exacting tasks in the field of education. Our schools must be socialist schools, a pillar of the socialist system. Their mission is to prepare the young generation in harmony with the needs of socialist society, with the requirements of the developing economy and individual social spheres. We proceed from the principle of unity between upbringing and education. Although in the past we placed emphasis on a unified and democratic school and certain foundations were also laid for such a school, steps were taken several years ago by which these principles were violated to a considerable extent. In conflict with our general policy, access to education was, in practice, rendered more difficult for children from working-class and peasant environments, one-sided emphasis was placed on professional aspects, and the educational process was greatly weakened. All this must now be rectified.

In particular, we must see to it that all workers in the educational field — from the ministries down to headmasters and teachers at schools — be fully aware of their duties and the great responsibility they hold towards society. Bureaucracy is always harmful, but its influence is most detrimental in educational work. At the Party conferences, quite a number of critical voices were raised in connection with the educational system. This, too, must lead us to a greater sense of responsibility in the process of instruction and education.

In this connection, there exist specific problems at many institutes of higher learning. We are concerned about the situation existing in professional training and above all in the political education of university students.

We turn to our teachers. It is they who determine the level and the results of pedagogical work, they who must guarantee that our young generation will be well prepared for life in keeping with the programme of socialist development, in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, socialist ethics, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. There can be no concession whatever with regard to these requirements.

We highly appreciate teachers who understand their mission in this way and are working in this spirit. Conditions must be created in an organized way for good work in the schools in a socialist spirit.

Life also demands the preparation of certain necessary changes in the educational system. The strengthening of the working and polytechnical character of schools, the elimination of the separation of second-

ary schools from practice, from the requirements of production, etc. However, we shall act with circumspection and consideration. The future of education cannot be divorced from the perspectives of our economy and the programme of development of society. However, what stands in the immediate centre of attention now is the quality of pedagogic work, the content of teaching and the standard of education. Special attention must be devoted to subjects which immediately influence the socialist awareness of pupils, their approach to the policy of the Party and their acquisition of the fundamentals of our world outlook. In the past, this sphere was greatly underestimated also in the training of pedagogues. Only thus could it happen that at many universities the former departments of Marxism-Leninism became centres of revisionism.

Socialism is linked with the Development of Science

The development of socialist society is inseparably linked with the development of science. The application of scientific knowledge in production, technology, in the organization of management, education and enlightenment activity is becoming a basic factor of the growing productivity of social labour. We are faced with the task of organically combining the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of socialist society as was emphasized by comrade Brezhnev at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. The number of scientific institutes and institutions grew immensely during the years of the construction of socialism. Our State is expending considerable means on science. However, what we cannot be satisfied with in any circumstances is the low social effectiveness of scientific work. If a turn is to be achieved, while eliminating obstacles in production, where interest is not always shown in achieving scientific progress, we must constantly and resolutely overcome tendencies to see research as an end in itself, particularly where it has not been — even from the very first stage of selecting research programmes — adequately incorporated into the general struggle for practical scientific and technological progress.

The sphere of scientific and research institutes and universities has been strongly marked by the influence of rightwing opportunists and anti-socialist forces and some of them were direct centres of this disruptive activity. This was also made possible by the relaxed working regimen, and by the negligible control of the plans and the result of the work of individuals and teams.

In the sphere of science and universities, too, rectification is being

gradually achieved. We welcome the initiative of the many leading scientists, research and university workers, who are striving for consolidation in this sphere both in political and scientific respects. We have excellent workers in the sphere of science, as well as certain remarkable successes in scientific research work, and we hold them in esteem. We trust the honest effort of the majority of our scientific workers and want to rely to a greater degree on the concrete results of their work.

We shall seek ways of further utilization of our developed scientific base, of concentrating efforts on the main tasks, of bringing it into closer connection with production and practice and of providing conditions for the creative work of the scientific intelligentsia, enabling them to make a much greater contribution to the further development of socialism. This is not a question of secondary importance. Application of the scientific technological revolution is becoming a key point of further development. We shall be dealing systematically with questions of scientific work and its application for the development of our country.

Specific problems exist in the sphere of the social sciences. We know how badly they for the most part acquitted themselves during the onslaught of the revisionist forces and what contribution they made to it. Even work-places of the Party, such as the Institute of Party History, the Institute for Political Sciences and the Political College, were very severely affected by these influences. Numerous measures for rectification have been taken over the course of two years. However, we are faced by the important task of organizing and developing work in all disciplines of the social sciences, in scientific institutes and at universities, and of incorporating the forces of the theoretical front devoted to Marxism-Leninism into the ideological offensive of our Party, into the struggle to shape the socialist consciousness of working people, into the struggle with bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and trends, into campaigns to clarify the urgent problems of the further development of socialist society.

Important and complicated tasks face the arts and the sphere of culture in general. In the past — although no incorrect resolutions were adopted on the ideological and Party-based content of the arts, on its importance in the ideological struggle of the Party — the real threat of the onset of right-wing forces was underestimated, the situation on the cultural front was idealized. The period of growing non-socialist, petty-bourgeois trends in this sphere came to a climax with the profound political abuse of the arts and culture in 1988 on behalf of the political-power aims of the bloc of revisionist and anti-socialist forces.

Aggressive groups of opportunists secured control over culture and especially over the creative unions, headed by the Union of Writers, abusing them for the operation of counter-revolutionary forces. In the course of the consolidation process, the right-wing centres were broken up with the help of the honest members of the creative intelligentsia, Party influence in culture was strengthened and the managing role of the socialist State was restored. This has been undoubtedly one of the positive elements of our policy following April 1969. We know, however, that these are only the beginnings of the work, that it is necessary to create conditions systematically and patiently for an offensive, for the activity of socialist culture and arts, for their ideological and Party-based content. The differentiation process in this sphere is advancing successfully. We shall give full support to those creative workers who, in their work and their civic attitude, are committing themselves for socialism, who place their talents at the service of our people, our society. However, we shall act consistently against the introduction of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences into the sphere of culture and arts, which is an important part of the political and cultural education of the millions.

Strong pressure for the commercialization of the arts, for their depreciation to the benefit of groups which are more businessmen than artists, have penetrated the cultural sphere. We cannot tolerate this.

We know that in this sphere it is necessary to proceed sensitively but from high-principled positions. Sensitively to creative quest, to the assertion of individual leanings and talents, to the diversity and variety of forms and styles of socialist realism, which will enrich socialist culture. We shall not make concessions to any efforts to try to abuse the arts against the Party and socialism. Socialist art is a great ideological weapon. Literature, the theatre, cinematography, television, the visual arts, music, etc. have an important mission in shaping the socialist man, in educating him in the spirit of our society. This ideological weapon must serve the interests of the working class and the working people. Socialist culture is truly democratic and humanist. It is a culture for the people, for the working people, not for snobs or for a narrow stratum of aristocrats.

The experience of the past years has confirmed what an important ideological and power instrument are the radio, television, the press, film, namely, as we usually call them, the mass communication and propaganda media. One of the first tasks after the April plenum of the CC of the CPCz in 1969 was to restore the leading role of the Party in this sphere. These powerful weapons had to be torn from the hands of the subversive groups and placed at the service of the working people and society. Since then the press, radio and television have

been making an ever greater contribution towards the consolidation of our society, towards exposing and defeating the opportunist forces. Today, these media are again a support of the Party and the socialist State. This powerful weapon is again in the hands of the working people.

The present stage places increased demands on the work of mass communications. The demand is being put forward to raise without delay their professional standard, so that the content of newspapers and periodicals, radio and television broadcasts be not only imbued with the spirit of the Party's policy, but that they be also varied and attractive, that they serve the purposes of education, instruction and entertainment. The chief mission of the mass communication media in the socialist State is to be an efficient organizer and propagator of the policy of the Communist Party, to incessantly raise and develop the socialist awareness of all strata of the population, to shape public opinion purposefully and in the spirit of socialist ideals. To win over the working people for active support for the policy of the Party, for participation and committed action, for initiative at work and in public life. To struggle against hostile propaganda, against the influences of bourgeois ideology, against petty-bourgeois survivals in thinking and practice. In the course of two years our communist journalists, journalists devoted to the cause of socialism, have succeeded in accomplishing a very positive piece of work. We are convinced that under the leadership of the Party they will also attain a high standard in this responsible social activity.

APPLICATION OF THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PARTY IN EVERY SPHERE OF LIFE

An important aspect of our political struggle with revisionism is the leading role of the Party. Leninism has taught us, and practical experience gained through socialist construction has made it clear that the leading and organizing role of the Party is an irreplaceable and immutable prerequisite for successful socialist advancement. We have also found out that any weakening of the leading role of the Party is a step backward, and leads to crisis. The historically inevitable need for the leading role of the Party grows with the new tasks and new requirements of socialist construction. The more advanced our society is, the more demanding are the political, economic and ideological tasks, the more urgent is the need for the leading role of the Party in society, the more completely many-sided must be its application. The

Party ensures the leading role of the working class. In its policy, it integrates the interests of all classes and strata of society. It is a guarantor of the defeat of hostile forces, of the overcoming of class antagonism, and of the consolidation of socialist power. The Party guarantees a link-up of our construction with the struggle of the international progressive movement, with the community of socialist countries, with the Soviet Union.

The Party is the main force which clears the way to new needs, new methods and demands. The Party is the only force capable of formulating on the basis of scientific socialism a comprehensive Marxist-Leninist programme of society's development, and of organizing working people to ensure its implementation. That is why it is the primary duty of all communists to do everything to strengthen the leading role of the Party, why it is an objectively necessary condition of a steady and successful development of our society, as well as the fundamental interest of the working class and of all people.

The revisionists tried to limit and degrade the leading role of the Party to vague ideological activity, and deprive the Party of the actual management of social processes. However, Leninism teaches us, and our experience confirms, that successful socialist construction requires the Party, in its leading role, to strive for a unity of conceptual and executive activity, unity of programmatic and organizational work, unity of words and deeds. For the Party to be able to direct the further development of society in the next decade effectively and purposefully, it will be essential to give greater attention in our work to cognitive activity, to make use of Marxist-Leninist science for in-depth analyses of social processes and to generalize the experience of the masses, and on this basis, to raise the conceptual character of managerial work. We intend to start preparatory work on a long-term programme for the development of our socialist society. At the same time, it will be necessary to increase substantially our ability to turn plans and resolutions into reality. Unity of both these aspects is of decisive importance for increasing the overall standard of the directing work of the Party.

Simultaneously with strengthening the leading role of the Party, we shall make unceasing efforts aimed at improving the methods and forms of its application. Our enemies try to claim that the leading role of the Party means a power monopoly and that it impedes development of the activity of the working people. When we encounter hostile, anti-socialist and revisionist activity, we declare frankly that the communists will do everything to frustrate it in its embryonic stage. Such initiative and activity as is conducive to the development of socialist society, must be given all-round support and be promoted — that is the role

and purpose of the Party. In no case do we understand the leading role of the Party to be that of Party bodies assuming the powers and responsibilities of State and economic bodies — we have already experienced this too and know where it led us — but they will give political guidance to communists in the respective sectors, supervise their work, and lead them towards initiative and responsibility for the implementation of the policy of the Party. Nor does the leading role of the Party mean issuing petty orders to social organizations but it means promoting their activity and initiative in implementing the policy of the Party.

The Importance of Mass-political Work

A task of fundamental importance for us is to win over the broadest strata of the population for the implementation of the policy of the Party, to unrelentingly strengthen and deepen the unity of the Party and the people, which is not given once and for all but must be revived again and again, with every new task and at every new stage. It is clear to communists that they are not building socialism for themselves, and that they cannot build it by themselves, relying on their own resources. The development of socialism can be brought about only through the creative activity of millions. To promote and win for the common cause the enormous energy, experience, talent, education and skill of our people, of the nations of our country — that is the main prerequisite for making headway. We proceed from this also in our attitude to non-Party people, whom we tirelessly wish to win over as citizens of a socialist State with equal rights for participation in drawing up and carrying out plans for the development of society. We count with everyone who sincerely wishes to take part in our common effort, and we shall create conditions for making use of the initiative, knowledge and experience of the people. This, naturally, also goes for those who did not get new Party membership-cards, and who wish to rectify their past mistakes by honest work. We shall, however, wage a consistent political struggle against those who stand on the other shore. Any manifestation of domineering attitudes or superiority over those who are not members of the Party must be alien to communists. As regards approach to people, it will be necessary to abandon the sectarian notion that what we, communists, understand and what we are convinced of, must automatically be clear and comprehensible to everyone. To convince people patiently by personal example and arguments — that is the role communists.

Over the half century of class struggles, the Party has amassed an

enormous wealth of experience on how to win over and lead the masses, what organizational forms to choose to get through to them with its communist truth, and to convince them, by practical examples, of the correctness of our policy. This experience gave rise to the slogan "Turning to the Masses", to which we have reverted. We can say that the speculations of our enemies that the Party will remain isolated have been proved wrong. During the process of consolidation, the Party has been winning the ever increasing support of the working people. Ever closer contacts are being established by Party organizations with non-Party people. We are convinced that the decisions which our Congress will adopt will meet with the full approval of all those who honestly wish socialism and the future of our country well, and who will provide still closer ties between the Party and the people. We are not going to take the road of cheap promises and seek cheap popularity. We shall always and frankly speak only the truth, even if it were bitter at times, and we know that the people will understand us and give us their support, as always in the past when we took this way.

It is essential to improve all the time the forms and methods of mass political work, to seek ways of penetrating all groups of working people. It is worth fighting for every upright person, even though he may have let himself be deluded and made mistakes. Mass work in enterprises must, however, be considered to be our prime task in the coming period. To win over for the policy of the Party the entire working class, to turn enterprises — particularly the big ones

— into reliable mainstays of the Party, to ensure that every upright person knows and understands the policy of the Party and gives it his approval — this, then, is the task to which all efforts must be orientated.

Strengthening the Marxist-Leninist Character and Unity of the Party

The demands on the management of society are directly reflected in growing demands on the political and organizational work of the Party, on its ability to formulate correctly strategic and tactical tasks, to determine the main links, to choose effective tactics and forms of work, to choose properly, prepare and deploy cadres, and to check up consistently on the fulfilment of assigned tasks.

Without any doubt, the Party will be able to carry out these tasks only if it is united, cohesive, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and if it unflinchingly observes Leninist norms in its internal life and in its activities.

We saw to what tragic consequences the violation of the norms led. We also saw how their rehabilitation after April 1969 has redoubled the strength of the Party.

Firm political, organizational and ideological unity and unity of action of the Party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is the source of the strength of the Party and a prerequisite for all our achievements. Thanks to its political struggle against the rightists and to the cleansing which has been carried out, the Party has attained a high degree of unity among its rank. However, it is necessary unceasingly to restore, intensify and strengthen the unity of the Party while solving all new questions. The Party is not, and will not in future, be immune to external pressure, to uncontrolled petty-bourgeois activity, to manifestations of casualness and inertia, to opportunist attempts to avoid controversies, to obstacles and the influence of difficulties arising during constructive work.

The conclusions which we have drawn are expressed in the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPCz on the topical questions of Party unity. We are convinced that this document, too, will be endorsed by the Congress as a binding directive for the further course of the Party.

The main danger against which we shall have to fight is rightist opportunism, which has taken deep roots in this country as a result of historical development. Therefore part of the struggle for the unity of the Party is and will remain the high-principled political and ideological struggle against all manifestations of opportunism and revisionism. In the interests of the Party, it is necessary to counter all attempts at introducing into the Party the forming of groups and infringements, however motivated, of the adopted line and the course which the Party has laid down.

The exchange of Party membership-cards concluded the stage of cleansing the Party, and thus the past period in the life of the Party was brought to a close. The task of strengthening and consolidating the ranks of the Party, and of improving the quality of its work became the order of the day. Systematic care for the purity of the Party and its ranks continues to be the prime duty of all Party organizations and communists. In future, the Party must part ways with those who disrupt this unity and Party and State discipline, who misuse their position, and by their acts weaken the authority and sully the good name of the Party.

Of great importance for the unity of the Party will be the correct solution of questions related to its organizational structure. It is especially important to ensure that under the conditions of the federative structure of the State, the Party retains its character of a united, internationalist party which will be a guarantor of the ties of fraternal

cooperation of Czechoslovakia's nations and nationalities, an integrating force of the working class and the working people of the whole State.

We have made an end to the harmful practices carried into the Party by the opportunists. The great struggle which we are waging, however, makes it necessary to continue strengthening the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. It is the decisive prerequisite for improving the internal life of the Party, for increasing the action-ability of Party organizations and the activity of communists. Communist discipline has been tightened, but we are faced with a lot of work to ensure that every member of our Party fights consciously for its policy and fulfils the resolutions of the Party. In order to tighten discipline still further, we shall ensure that consequences are drawn from cases of infringement of Party Statutes and resolutions.

The development of the internal life of the Party in the present stage — together with the strengthening of democratic centralism as a prerequisite for united action — makes it possible, and requires emphasis also to be laid on another factor, namely the development of inner-Party democracy. We have convinced ourselves that democratic centralism and inner-Party democracy cannot be separated and set one against the other. Bureaucratic centralism, anarchy and spontaneity harm the Party, and must not be tolerated. To ensure the unity and discipline of the Party and its action-ability it is essential that all communists participate fully in making and implementing the policy of the Party, that all have and assert equal rights and fulfil their duties. Consequently, we must continue strengthening the democratic principles of shaping, carrying out and checking the policy of the Party.

An important element of these principles is the strengthening of the collective character of leadership. To lead collectively and to define personal responsibility exactly — that must become an inviolable principle for all Party bodies. The proceedings and results of the annual general meetings and conferences confirmed that notable successes can be reached only in an atmosphere of a collective, factual, frank and democratic discussion of the fundamental questions of Party life.

We consider it necessary to promote criticism and self-criticism as an important condition of the full life of the Party and of successful progress. It is not only a reliable Leninist method of exposing and redressing shortcomings; but also an important means of activating communists. We stress, especially for the benefit of executives, that one of the characteristics of a communist should be his ability to listen to critical remarks and to draw lessons from them. Party organizations

must not tolerate practices whereby critical comments are not heeded or are even suppressed; they must regard the encouragement of criticism and self-criticism as an important part of their activities.

Where it is possible to develop the internal life of Party organizations in this way, there will also be the best conditions for overcoming the chronic diseases of passivity and formalism which have for years been attendant features of the life of our Party. Experience shows that in those Party organizations in which tasks and responsibility are unequivocally and clearly defined, in which all communists carry out specific tasks and in which there is systematic control, where there is an atmosphere of strictness as well as of confidence, passivity of members disappears. It will be necessary to see that the term "passive communist" disappears from the Party vocabulary.

Formalism, which still survives in some places, is just as bad as passivity. We all know how much initiative, willingness and good will was wasted unnecessarily in the past owing to formalism. That is why we must not tolerate sham activity cloaked in clichés which mostly conceals laziness and incompetence. And are there not, I guess, such people in this country whose activity is merely calculated to give an outward impression?

The establishment of comradely relations among communists is also extremely important for the life of the Party. In their mutual relations, they should place high demands on themselves and on others, there should also be, as a matter of course, mutually critical and self-critical, as well as comradely understanding, help and support.

It has already been stated repeatedly that if a correct line is laid down, its fate depends on organizational work. And yet, the situation was such for many years that in most cases, good resolutions were adopted, but little was done to fulfil them. Things would have undoubtedly taken a different course in this country if there had not been a conciliatory attitude to opportunism in practical work. Since April 1969, the capacity of the Party, Party bodies and Party activists to put adopted resolutions consistently and correctly into practice has considerably increased. Especially during the exchange of membership-cards, the Party succeeded in exerting extraordinary organizational efforts and gained immense experience in ways of directing the work of the hundreds-of-thousands-strong *aktiv*, how to unite, guide, and control it within the framework of the entire Party. We shall proceed from this experience in future too and see to it at all levels that the standard of organizational work corresponds to our tasks.

An important place in the organizational work of the Party falls to the district Party committees, since they directly guide the primary organizations, ensure the unity of State and local policies

and create conditions for the effective work of the primary organizations. In the past therein lay our weakest spot. The district committees must not only concentrate on the activities of their own body, organizations and institutions at district level, but must see their main mission in the directing of the primary organizations, in ensuring the policy of the Party where it is being implemented, where its fate is being decided — namely in the factories, cooperative farms and localities.

A great role in raising the level of organizational work, in preparing, ensuring and checking the implementation of resolutions, is played by the Party apparatus. At this Congress, we want to state our appreciation of its role all the more because the rightist forces have been waging a concentrated attack against it. After being cleansed, the Party apparatus made a significant contribution to the results of consolidation. More than half of the comrades who work there have university and secondary education and considerable political experience. However, new tasks place ever greater demands. We shall see to it that work in the apparatus be done by comrades who are closely linked with the Party, who have rich experience gained in the course of Party activity in various sectors, marked capacity for creative political thinking, who incessantly improve their knowledge and carry out consistently the decisions of the elected Party bodies.

In the present stage, it is also necessary to improve the style of work, to pass from impromptu campaigns, which the situation often forced upon us in the past period, to more planned and systematic work, to apply the method of the gradual elaboration and solution of problems with the participation of a broad *aktiv* to the methods of seeking the best solutions in an atmosphere of frank and critical comradely discussion. Effective control of the fulfilment of the adopted decisions must in future become an essential feature of our work.

We must ensure the fulfilment of the aims of our policy by the correct choice, training and deployment of cadres and this has always been an important instrument in the leading role and implementation of the policy of the Party. Cadre work takes on special importance today. Part of the struggle against the rightist forces was the effort to replace those who failed to stand the test of time and to reinforce the decisive sectors with cadres devoted to the Party. The very fact that it was necessary to make extensive changes in cadres shows how long cadre policy had been neglected. However, it also proves that the Party had sufficient strength and loyal cadres to solve this task.

The new tasks that will be adopted by the Congress will necessarily also entail making greater demands on people, especially in leading functions. Today we decide about tomorrow, also by the way in which we train cadres in advance and the level of this training. The Party

will support the authority of leading executives and will give them its confidence, while at the same time placing higher demands on them and controlling them. It will judge them primarily according to the results of their work for society, according to how responsibly, energetically and resolutely and with what insight they lead the collectives entrusted to them towards the fulfilment of new tasks.

It is important to concentrate on the formation of cadre reserves. Their inexhaustible source are the masses of workers, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia, youth and women. It is a foremost task, above all, to seek out and promote new, mainly young people. At the same time, it is necessary to adopt a sensitive approach to the experience of old and time-tested comrades who devoted their lives to the struggle of our Party, and to combine their experience with the enthusiasm of young people.

We do not want to create, by constant reorganization and frequently unnecessary personnel changes, an atmosphere of unrest, which would provide fertile ground for irresponsibility. We endeavour to achieve the greatest possible stability among cadres, this being essential for an atmosphere favourable to creative work. This does not, of course, mean that people who are unable to cope with their tasks, should retain their positions. Comrades, who by their past work have distinguished themselves for the Party, must be appreciated. However, the interests of the Party do not permit these merits of the past to justify non-fulfilment of present-day duties.

An important task in the effort to improve the quality of cadres, especially their political level, is to create a sound system of training. However, not even the best system can make up for their own efforts to improve their ideological and theoretical level, to master the latest findings of science. None of us manage today with what he learned some time in the distant past. Whoever wants to guide and lead must have knowledge. This is why he must study throughout his life.

The resolution on cadre and personnel activities must be applied consistently, in its full extent and meaning; it is necessary to insist on a truly firm unity of all criteria related to cadres, to introduce a really plan-based and systematic approach to the entire work concerning cadres; and to observe Leninist norms in this field as well.

Communists as an Example to Others

The decisive condition for seeing that the Party is the leading force of our society in all spheres is the quality of its membership. This is why the permanent tasks of all Party bodies and organizations must

include systematic and consistent care for an all-round raising of the significance of Party membership as well as for the direction of the growth of the Party.

A fundamental step for improving the quality of the Party was the exchange of membership-cards. Its results meant not only that the Party was cleansed of the exponents of rightist opportunism, but to a certain extent also of passive members. The Party at the same time preserved its mass character — it has about 1,200,000 members — and its close links with the broad masses of the working people. The authority and also the responsibility of Party members in society has markedly increased. It is therefore necessary to continue increasing the demands placed on Party members, so that they may be an example to others by their work and their attitudes and that they may consistently defend the policy of the Party.

By exchanging Party cards, we solved only a part of the tasks connected with improving the quality of membership. The other part — the planned regulation of the composition and growth of the Party — now faces us. Many circumstances — among others, insufficient attention in the past years to filling the Party ranks with new members — require that we pay much greater attention to improving the age and social structure of the Party.

We are a Party of the working class and this makes it imperative to step up above all the process of organization of the best members of the working class in the Party. It is at the same time natural that the Party must fill up its ranks by admitting the best members of the cooperative farming population and the socialist intelligentsia.

Our care for the future of the Party, for socialism and the Republic must also be reflected in an increased admission of young people into the Party, in its bonds with the younger generation. Overcoming the unfavourable age structure of the Party is virtually a vital necessity. Care for the growth and quality of membership is very urgent and pressing. It cannot be merely some kind of campaign. It must be a purposefully directed long-term process. In this connection, we are submitting a proposal to the Congress to re-introduce the period of candidate membership, which is to enable candidates to get better acquainted with the Party, the rights and duties of members, and to enable the Party to learn more about them. Life has shown that the decision to abolish the period of candidacy, which was adopted by the 13th Congress, was premature.

The importance attached to these questions by the Soviet comrades at their 24th Congress is highly instructive for us too. It will be one of the first tasks of the new Central Committee to make a complex assessment of the question of the growth and formation of the Party.

The great Significance of Marxist-Leninist Education

Experience has taught us that in future it will be no longer possible to forget for a moment the fundamental truth of Leninism, that the sphere of ideology and ideological work is an inseparable part of our class struggle for the strengthening and development of socialist society.

If opportunism and revisionism could take advantage of the fact that our ideological and theoretical work was lagging behind, the conclusion we draw from this is clear: to give substantially greater attention to this sector of work. Our chief task is to fight against revisionism, to expose its sources, to overcome its manifestations in all fields. If this struggle is to be efficient, it cannot be so without an active approach to new problems. "The criticism of bourgeois and revisionist attacks on our theory and practice is far more convincing if it is based on an active and creative development of the social sciences and Marxist-Leninist theory", comrade Brezhnev noted at the 24th Congress of the CPSU.

Theoretical and ideological work is linked with the need to consistently raise the level of the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in the entire Party, to continue improving the standard and efficiency of Party propaganda and schooling. We shall, therefore, place emphasis on the political and ideological training of communists, and especially of functionaries of the Party, State bodies and social organizations. In this, we regard as the basic criterion of the efficiency of Party education the deep communist conviction and full political activity of its participants. We must endeavour to see that all Party members understand that the policy of the Party represents a creative Marxist-Leninist answer to the fundamental political, economic, ideological as well as ethical problems of our time, of our nations.

It is essential for all members of the Party thoroughly to acquaint themselves with the documents and results of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and to perform their everyday Party work in the spirit of the Congress. This is the first prerequisite for them, enabling them to defend and explain, actively and militantly, the policy of the Party to the millions of the working masses.

Changes in the Statutes

Proposals for certain changes in the Statutes are being submitted to the 14th Congress. They have already been assessed by district and regional bodies of the Party. The standpoint of these bodies confirmed

the view that it is not necessary to work out new Statutes, but to make only the necessary changes stemming from gained experience and the new needs of the Party, and to concentrate the main efforts on consistent observance of the Statutes.

In 1968, the rightist opportunists also attempted to revise the Party Statutes. They managed to weaken the role of the Statutes in the life of the Party. This is why after April 1969 the Central Committee devoted such attention to restoring the binding character and application of the Statutes in Party activities.

The proposals specify in greater detail the duties of communists in strengthening the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Party, in the struggle against opportunism and revisionism. They are aimed at strengthening the action capacity of Party bodies and organizations and the full development of inner Party life. They proceed from the fact that even in the federative set-up of the State the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia continues to be a united, internationalist and centrally-directed Party. They formulate the attitude of the Party to the younger generation and adjust in a new way its relationship to the Socialist Union of Youth.

In order to harmonize the political and economic programmes better, it is proposed that Congresses be held once every five years, and regional and district conferences once every two or three years.

We are convinced that the consistent application of the Statutes will lead to a strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, to the successful development of Party life, that it will become an important instrument in deepening the influence of the Party in all spheres of life of society.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY SERVES SOCIALISM AND PEACE

Comrades,

The complicated development through which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia passed over the past five years has also left its mark on the international activity of the Party and the foreign policy of our State.

"The Lesson drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" presents an objective picture of one of the great battles fought between socialism and imperialism in the 'sixties. It shows to the full extent the inter-relation between internal political disruption and im-

perialist subversion as well as the unavoidable need for close cooperation between the internal and internationalist socialist forces in the defence of the revolutionary gains of socialism in the CSSR. It is an irrefutable fact that the rescue, strengthening and present development of socialism in our country represents a remarkable victory for the world revolutionary forces and a heavy loss and defeat for imperialism.

That is the foundation of the class truth on which we based our analysis of the recent past. We said already at the Moscow International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969, that by the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia we would prepare an evaluation of the Czechoslovak crisis into which the Party and society got itself in 1968. This we have done. The conclusions reached by the Central Committee were unanimously approved by Czechoslovak communists and they are supported also by the great majority of our working people.

We express our comradely gratitude to all the fraternal parties that have been observing our developments over the past two years with understanding and supporting with solidarity the efforts of Czechoslovak communists to strengthen socialism in this country. We again express our readiness to welcome in a comradely way everyone who wishes to learn the objective truth about our situation, and we shall acquaint him with all the facts which we have deduced from our present knowledge and evaluation. It is up to the fraternal parties to adjudge for themselves which of our experiences is significant for them too.

The settlement of the Czechoslovak crisis, in harmony with the interests of socialism and internationalism, did not hamper the settlement of conflicting international problems as was foretold by the rightists but, on the contrary, supported conditions for achieving progress in solving the problems of post-war development still not settled.

Our Party considers its cardinal task to be to contribute with all its forces towards implementing the conclusions jointly adopted at the Moscow conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. This conference gave strong impetus to the development of wide-spread action among the socialist, national liberation and democratic forces in their struggle against imperialism and to revolutionary progress in the world. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will play an effective part in every initiating move aimed at strengthening the action-unity of the communist and revolutionary movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. That is why we also agree with the views of the fraternal parties, that a broadly based international meeting of communists should become

a permanent practice in our movement, which would promote its revolutionary ability to act and its vigour.

At the present time we have good comradely relations with the great majority of fraternal parties. We wish to assure them from the platform of this Congress that Czechoslovak communists, taking a lesson from recent experience, will vigilantly guard their socialist achievements and revolutionary workers' power in Czechoslovakia. We are aware that the demanding tasks of socialist construction which we are now accomplishing, require the full development of all the creative forces of the Party and the people, the organic harmonizing of our national and international interests and obligations, and consistent adherence to the general laws of building a socialist society. Our Party will exert every effort to contribute in an all-round and effective manner to strengthening the political, economic and defence power of the socialist community.

We assure the fraternal communist parties of the capitalist countries of our solidarity and support for them in their struggle with the bourgeoisie, for the rights and just demands of the working class and for social progress. We are profoundly convinced that sooner or later the working class in the capitalist countries will win, through struggle, the conditions for carrying out basic democratic and socialist change.

We wish at the time to assure the communist and revolutionary democratic parties of the developing countries of Asia and Africa, that we shall support actively all their endeavours to overcome the social and economic heritage of colonialism, dependence on imperialism and against the most varied forms of neo-colonialist exploitation. We are in full solidarity with the efforts of the revolutionary and progressive forces in these states to put through a non-capitalist solution to the vital problems which will ensure socialist prospects. We assure our support to all those countries which are still waging a national liberation struggle for release from the colonial yoke.

We also welcome the new progressive phenomena in the anti-imperialist movement on the Latin American continent, strong evidence of which is the victory of the forces of Popular Unity in Chile and the successes of the national democratic anti-monopolistic advance in Peru and Bolivia.

We proudly endorse the fundamental mission of communists to be the vanguard of all truly revolutionary and progressive events. Despite the furious attacks of world imperialism and its lackeys the ideas of socialism are forging a victorious road on all continents. Developments throughout the world are confirming again and again the viability and correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings. International reactionaries are fully aware that anti-communism in its old primitive

form can no longer disrupt the bonds between communist parties and the broad masses of the workers. For this reason it makes consistent use of every expression of right-wing opportunism and revisionism, with the aim of diverting the working class from its revolutionary mission. Our recent experience and the knowledge of other parties strongly confirms that revisionism must necessarily merge into open betrayal of socialism and the revolutionary workers' movement and into the inevitable transference of its representatives to anti-communist and anti-Soviet positions.

In the struggle against right-wing opportunism and international revisionism, however, we must not overlook the danger which the current theory and practice of the Chinese leadership entails for the interests of socialism, world communism and the common anti-imperialist struggle. It is based on anti-Sovietism, it is enshrouded in left-wing, pseudo-revolutionary phrases and is orientated towards splitting the unity of the socialist countries and widening the breach in the international revolutionary movement. The leadership of the Communist Party of China refuses to establish any sort of relations with the great majority of the communist and workers' parties, not excluding our own. We should like to express the conviction that the Chinese communists and Chinese People will sooner or later realize this mistake. We are willing to discuss all problems which could contribute to a normalization of mutual relations, for we are convinced that this is in the interests not only of both countries but in the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Comrades!

With the passing of two years we can say that the results of our cooperation with the socialist countries, a bond which was restored after the April plenary session of the Communist Party Central Committee in 1969 on the basis of mutual trust, are now very good and developing favourably. But this does not mean that we are fully satisfied. Particularly in the sectors of economic, scientific and cultural relations there are many new possibilities and stimulants to still more effective expansion of our mutual relations.

Over the past two years it has been our endeavour to see that Czechoslovakia not only fulfils the obligations and undertakings ensuing to it from its belonging to the socialist camp, but at the same time to see that we contribute effectively in reinforcing active unity and the growth of the political and economic power of the socialist community in the world of today.

In the future too, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will contribute to seeing that the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty successfully

coordinate their procedure on foreign political affairs and secure the joint defence of revolutionary achievements and the inviolability of the borders of the socialist community.

The main pillar of power of world socialism and also the most important source of its revolutionary energy is the Soviet Union, which also represents an impassable barrier against the expansionist and conquering character of imperialism. It is above all thanks to its tremendous economic and military power, its international authority and Leninist peace programme, which was once more summarized in the foreign political concept of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, that socialism is now asserting its influence in solving all world problems.

We can say with pleasure and satisfaction at our Congress that Czechoslovak-Soviet relations have not only been fully restored but have reached at the present time, a qualitatively higher level and are recording also broader application. A symbol of these, in the true sense of the word, fraternal relations, is the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, the first anniversary of which we commemorated on May 6th. Our relations and cooperation with the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Rumanian Socialist Republic and the Mongolian People's Republic, founded on common socialist interests and aims, are also developing successfully. Recent talks between representatives of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia show that there are realistic conditions also for improving mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia.

Comrades!

We are certainly voicing the sentiments of all delegates to our Congress when we assure the representatives of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam here present, that our Party and all our people support from the bottom of their hearts the just cause of our Vietnamese friends, who have not relented in their heroic many years' long struggle against the American aggressors and their Saigon lackeys. We promise the Vietnamese people and the other nations of Indo-China that we shall continue to support their courageous struggle against imperialist intervention. We fully support the well-known proposals of the Government of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic and the Provisional Government of South Vietnam for achieving a just peace in this area.

Our full sympathy and support goes to the first socialist country on the American continent — the Cuban Republic — which is bravely

defending the cause of progress and socialism and continuing in its constructive endeavours. We also voice our full solidarity with the Korean People's Democratic Republic, unwaveringly striving for a peaceful unification of the country and for enforcing the withdrawal of the American occupation troops from South Korea. We are convinced that our cooperation both with the Cuban Republic and with the Korean People's Democratic Republic will continue to expand favourably.

At the present time international attention is directed towards the Middle East region, where, as a result of the expansionist and aggressive policy of Israel, supported by American imperialism, a dangerous focal point of war has been created. We take an unqualified and resolute stand on the side of the United Arab Republic and the other Arab states striving to overcome the consequences of Israeli aggression, and for the return of the occupied territory and the assertion of the just claims of the Palestinian people. A realistic way of establishing peace in this area would be the fulfilment of all the provisions of the resolution of the Security Council of the United Nations organization of November 1967.

In this connection we express our conviction that on the basis of common interests in the struggle against imperialism and for social progress our relations with the United Arab Republic in future will develop fruitfully.

In view of the geographical position of our country, we are interested in peaceful developments in Europe, in an effective system of collective security. We are of the opinion that the constructive initiative of the socialist countries over many years has created favourable conditions for the all-round preparation of an All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation and for its convening without any preliminary conditions. There can be no doubt that every positive step in strengthening conditions of peace in Europe is of world-wide importance. Proceeding from historic experience the European states should develop joint efforts, regardless of differences in social systems, for overcoming all obstacles and barriers standing in the way of understanding in the question of peace, security and cooperation.

An important step in this direction was the conclusion of a treaty between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG. It is, however, regrettable that the Federal Parliament has not yet ratified these important documents. This only confirms that there are influential forces at work in the Federal Republic which prevent a real settlement of relations with the socialist states. Proof of this is also the negative stand on the recognition, according to international law, of the German Democratic Republic, although this is an entirely justified and natural demand

on the part of a sovereign State which has proved in its whole policy that it has made an end once and for all with the militarist and reactionary past of Germany and has accomplished much for peaceful development in Europe.

One of the unsolved problems which has an indisputable impact on the development of conditions in Europe are still unsolved relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. The chief obstacle to this solution is the persistent attitude of the Federal Republic of Germany to the Munich Dictate, which lies in the untenable stand that it was a valid international treaty. Meanwhile it is generally known that "Munich" was negotiated without the participation of Czechoslovakia and against that country, that it was forced upon her by threats and violence. Our just demand to proclaim the Munich Agreement as invalid from the very outset, with all the ensuing consequences, is based on the irrefutable fact that this so-called agreement was part of the criminal Nazi betrayal of peace and was a step that led to the Second World War, that it was a crime committed against Czechoslovakia. We expect the Federal Republic of Germany to deduce from this historic truth unqualified political, moral conclusions in keeping with international law and to recognize the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very start. Thus the FRG can demonstrate that it wishes to achieve such a regulation of mutual relations with the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, that would overcome the unfortunate past.

We want to reconfirm at our Congress our firm determination to expand political, economic and cultural relations, in the spirit of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, with all capitalist countries on condition that their governments will respect the wish of our working people to live and work in a socialist society. We are convinced that this resolution of ours is in harmony with the aspirations of all nations and peoples of good will. But never for moment should we forget the threat of world imperialism headed by the aggressive circles of the United States of America. It is essential to evolve a broadly based campaign with the progressive, democratic, national liberation and socialist forces against its expansive aggressivity and intentions of world domination. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia takes it as its highest international obligation to play as large a share as possible in this common revolutionary struggle.

WE LOOK AT THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE AND CERTAINTY

Dear comrades and delegates!

The Central Committee has submitted to you a report on the development of the Party and society since the 13th Congress. It has informed you about the basic conclusions it has drawn from this development. It has informed you about the great struggle to overcome the crisis which we have waged since April 1969. It has also proposed tasks for the future period for the prospective advancement of our homeland.

It is the role of the Congress to evaluate these results and tasks and to work out the binding line for the Party in the coming years.

We have no doubt that the delegates to our Congress will approach the debate on the report of the Central Committee in the same creative spirit and on the principled and responsible stand which again prevails in our Party and which has predominated the whole preparation of the Congress. We do not doubt that the Congress will cope with this important task with the consciousness of the high responsibility which it owes to the whole Party, the working people and the entire international communist movement.

The Congress closes a difficult and complex stage in the life of our Party and society and opens a new stage. After years of crisis and uncertainty, of improvisation, of struggle and the victorious onset of the Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party in the last few years, the 14th Congress can now with surety draw up an ambitious and realistic programme for the further advancement of our socialist homeland. We can show all the people of our State how to proceed so that we can root out the sources of past crisis, create an atmosphere of contentment, trust, certainty and optimism, favourable conditions for creative work and a happy life for our people. The tasks which we have to consider, cover the vital interests of our working class, the working people, our nations and our socialist society. Conditions exist for all our people to unite in the fulfilment of these tasks.

We are convinced that we have all the conditions for this hopeful prospect for our further advancement. We look to the future with confidence and certainty.

From crisis and shocks and from difficult struggle, the Marxist-Leninist teaching, our working class, the working people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the socialist system have emerged victorious. Taking a lesson from past mistakes and crises we shall pass on to further victories and successes for our people.

The guarantee of further successes is our glorious Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia, which is now commemorating its fiftieth anniversary and is imbued with new revolutionary strength and determination.

Therefore: Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

The guarantee of our victory is the creative ability, the diligence, the experience and the patriotism of our working class and the working people, the fraternity and unity of our nations.

Therefore: Long live our working people, long live the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

The guarantee of our contented life, of our national and State freedom and our socialist order, is the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, our belonging to the international communist movement.

Therefore: Long live the unity of the socialist countries!

Long live the International Communist Movement!

Long live and prosper our great ally — the Soviet Union!

Miloš Jakeš,

**Chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission
of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia
Party of Czechoslovakia**

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL CONTROL AND AUDITING COMMISSION

Comrades, delegates, and guests,

The Congress of our Party is being held under the immediate influence of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which outlined the prospects for the further development of communist construction. Inspired by the ideals of Marxism-Leninism, which once again triumphed at the Congress of Soviet communists, we recall with pride the 50th anniversary of the establishment of our Party and its victorious revolutionary road that was linked with the creative application of Marxist-Leninist teaching and loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

With this in mind, the Central Control and Auditing Commission hereby gives an account of its work to the 14th Congress of the period of great trials through which our Party and society have passed since the 13th Congress.

The implementation of the political line laid down by the 13th Congress of the CPCz is evaluated in the document "Lesson Drawn from the Crisis Development following the 13th Congress of the CPCz" and in the report of the Central Committee delivered by its First Secretary, comrade Gustáv Husák.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission agrees with the conclusions contained in the "Lesson" and, within the scope of its position and function in the Party, it takes upon itself part of the responsibility for the development in the Party since the 13th Congress in the crisis period and in the struggle of the Marxist-Leninist forces for the restoration of the revolutionary character of the Party and the overcoming of the political crisis.

We appreciate the international help of the fraternal countries, which saved our country from civil war, from the consummation of counter-revolution, and helped defend the achievements of socialism.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission, elected at the 13th Congress, proceeded in its work from the tasks assigned to it in Article 29 of the Statutes and the Directives of the Central Committee of the CPCz for the activity of control and auditing commissions. In its control activity it concentrated on the fulfilment of the important resolutions of the 13th Congress of the Party. It carried out the control of the fulfilment of the conclusions ensuing from the discussion to the theses of the 13th Congress. It found that most of the remarks were taken into consideration in drafting the Congress documents and the plan of work of Party organs. According to the Congress resolution, the commission dealt with the membership of 72 persons, who applied to the 13th Congress of the Party, and it submitted respective recommendations to the Presidium of the Central Committee.

The Commission was entrusted with attending to the application of the leading role of the Party in the Central Commission of People's Control. In this connection it devoted great attention to the reconstruction of the control system, in keeping with the resolution of the 13th Congress, and expressed itself against proposals defending the automatic mechanism of control in the new system of economic management. It discussed the proposed provision of legislation on commissions of people's control and kept watch on the preparation and implementation of the election of commissions of people's control. Responsibility for the work of communists in people's control has since mid-1968 been in the hands of the bodies of the CC of the CPCz.

Proceeding from the resolution of the 13th Congress, the Commission controlled the level of Party management of national committees and the fulfilment of the resolution of the 13th Congress on the status and tasks of national committees in socialist society. It checked the fulfilment of the Party's economic policy in the enterprise sphere and checked on the work of the South Moravian regional organization concerning the scientific-technological intelligentsia, which revealed many inclinations in the views of the intelligentsia on the role of the working class and on basic questions of the policy of the Party. It concerned itself also with the application of the leading role of the Party in the Czechoslovak Union of Youth at universities and institutions of higher learning in Prague. The check revealed considerable lability in the opinions of students on basic problems, such as the relationship towards the socialist order, the Party, the Czechoslovak Union of Youth, internationalism, and also disunity of opinion in primary

organizations of the Party and violations of the principles of democratic centralism.

The conclusions drawn from the control made were used for the preparation of the October plenum of the CC of the CPCz, in 1967, and were discussed in the bodies of the Party's Central Committee, or were referred to the appropriate departments of the Central Committee. The adopted conclusions were not, however, implemented consistently.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission devoted great attention to solving disciplinary and membership questions.

The analyses which were made have shown that the level of disciplinary work of Party bodies, primary organizations and control and auditing commissions did not correspond to the situation in the Party, did not serve, to the necessary degree, the protection of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party and as an inseparable part of the education of communists. The unprincipled attitude in drawing conclusions from the non-fulfilment of resolutions, formalism, underestimation of revolutionary vigilance and the growth of revisionist and opportunist tendencies had a substantial influence on the decline in the standard of disciplinary work.

As a consequence of this and of other causes, there was a gradual relaxation of Party discipline, the Party Statutes were frequently violated. The resolutions of the 13th Congress of the Party and of Party bodies were fulfilled inconsistently, and often were not fulfilled at all. Prolonged passivity of many members of the Party was tolerated. Despite this violation of the Statutes, the number of members called to account to the Party, steadily declined. On the other hand, the number of those grew who were leaving the Party at their own initiative.

This testified to the weakening of the attitude of members to the policy of the Party and serious deficiencies in political work. Only after the April plenum to the CC of the CPCz in 1969 did demands on the observance of Party Statutes gradually increase and conclusions again begin to be drawn for their violation. Gradually the words of V. I. Lenin began to be put into practice again that: "It is our task to protect the firmness, consistency and purity of our Party. We must strive to raise the name and the importance of the Party member higher, higher and ever higher" [V. I. Lenin, Works, (Vol. VI., p. 508 — Czech edition)].

At the same time, and even in connection with the admittance of new members, there was a steady decline in the proportion of workers in the Party and a worsening of the age composition of the Party.

Due attention failed to be given to the composition of the member-

ship base as an important condition for implementing the policy of the Party, and this had a bearing also on the growth of the crisis in the Party.

The exchange of Party membership-cards has brought a cleansing of the Party of right-wing opportunists, career-seekers and the passive membership section, but it could not solve the social and age composition. Experience from the work of the control and auditing commissions confirms the urgency of the task of devoting great attention to the composition of the Party, especially to the admittance of young workers into the Party.

The analyses of the causes of Party punishments and the appeals which have been received prove that the blameworthiness of Party members concerned mainly the non-fulfilment of their basic duties, transgressions of an economic character, violation of State discipline and moral transgressions. The general atmosphere in the Party, contributed to the fact that, with exceptions, it was, above all, members who had parted ways with the ideological principles of the Party, who were the upholders of revisionism and often held important positions in the ideological sphere, who were not called to account to the Party.

Most serious politically at that time was the case of certain Party members, writers, which was handed over to the Commission for disciplinary action by the Presidium of the Party's Central Committee after the 4th Congress of the Union of Writers in September 1967. The investigation of the Central Control and Auditing Commission fully confirmed that revisionist views existed in the Writers' Union, that their exponents in the political-ideological sphere were abandoning Marxist-Leninist standpoints, that they overlooked the existence of the main contradiction in the world, rid the terms freedom, democracy and humanism of their class and socialist content, advocated peaceful coexistence in the ideological sphere and demanded free scope even for hostile, anti-communist views. They belittled the results of the work of the Party, attacked its internal and external policy, disrupted our relations with the Soviet Union, waged an attack on the leading role of the Party, the power of the working class, and placed the intelligentsia, in particular the writers, above the working class.

Taken altogether these views were the basis for creating an anti-Party platform. The Commission recommended the waging of a consistent, high-principled political and ideological struggle against them. Developments have confirmed that the proposal of the plenum of the Central Control and Auditing Commission to expel the main exponents of these views, submitted to the Central Committee of the Party, corresponded to the degree of their guilt.

In April 1968, under the pressure of certain former leading Party

functionaries and due to the prevailing political atmosphere, the Commission retreated from its basic criteria and recommended that the Central Committee abrogate the adopted conclusions of the Party and refer the affair to be finalized by the primary CPCz organization of the Union of Writers.

The experiences of the Commission further showed that inner Party life was stagnating, the line laid down by the 13th Congress was not being followed and its resolutions were not being fulfilled, Party Statutes were being violated, and some bodies, organizations and functionaries were tolerating the penetration of petty-bourgeois ideology and revisionism into the ranks of the Party.

The controlling function of the Party was gradually weakened.

The Commission pointed out these shortcomings. It welcomed efforts to find solutions at the October session of the CC of the CPCz in 1967 and fully supported the results of the January plenum in 1968. It saw its necessity and import to lie in the endeavour to overcome errors and deficiencies so that the line of the 13th Congress of the CPCz might be followed consistently. It supported the Central Committee's decision to recall Antonín Novotný from his function as First Secretary of the CC of the CPCz. It was convinced that the measures passed by the January plenum of the Party's Central Committee would help to activate members and to strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, which are fundamental prerequisites for the implementation of the Party's leading role.

Owing to the influence of the rightist opportunist forces and the indecision of the Party leadership, these conditions were not fulfilled and developments took a different course.

The Commission drew attention to grave negative trends in this development, to the varied interpretations of the January plenum, to the non-observance of Party Statutes and to the need to put a stop to the slandering of comrades and so on. It drew attention to the violation of the principles governing the elections to district and regional Party conferences. Owing to the abnormal situation in the leading organs of the Party, these observations remained without appropriate conclusions being drawn.

In March 1968, when the mass media were stepping up their anti-Party attacks, a group of members, at the instigation of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, emphatically notified Alexander Dubček that the press, radio and television were slipping out of the Party leadership's control, and demanded personnel changes to ensure an improvement; but again without result.

The Commission's efforts to observe Party Statutes were negatively affected by the right-wing propaganda campaign, launched in connection with the preparation of the new Statutes, throwing doubts on the valid Statutes, which accelerated the process of destroying the Leninist principles of construction and norms of inner-Party life. The violation of Party Statutes and of the policy of the Party concerned basic issues. The right-wing came out against Marxist-Leninist ideology and the principles of proletarian internationalism, the Marxist-Leninist conception of the leading role of the working class and the Communist Party in society, incited anti-Sovietism, exaggerated, one-sidedly, the national specifics of socialist construction, blunted the class approach to the evaluation of social phenomena and the solution of political and economic problems.

It attacked the main Leninist principles of socialist construction and the activity of a Marxist-Leninist Party, and the norms of Party life.

It cast doubts on Party resolutions, discussed exclusively inner-Party questions in forums outside the Party, disrupted the collective character of the leadership, organized factional activity, pressure groups, asserted and implemented the right of the minority not to fulfil resolutions passed, demanded autonomy for individual Party bodies and organizations.

The activities of many Party organs reached far beyond their territorial boundaries. Without the knowledge of the higher Party bodies, the lower organizations began associating, and announcements of their common standpoints were published in the press, thus creating pressure on the higher bodies. A striking example of the violation of Party Statutes were the discussions of the Prague City Party Conference and certain other conferences which declared themselves to be in permanent session, and in particular the anti-Party so-called Vysočany Congress. By this the basic principle of socialist construction and Party activity — democratic centralism — was violated. All this deprived the Party of its ability to act, and contributed to the disintegration of Party discipline.

The control of the mass communication media by the right-wing, made the defence of Party policy from a Marxist-Leninist position impossible. The Party's influence on cadre policy was considerably weakened, the activity of communists and attendance at Party meetings, held irregularly, declined.

Therefore, the Commission welcomed the resolutions of the May plenum of 1968, which were put through by Marxist-Leninist forces in the CC of the CPCz with the aim of calling a halt to the process of destruction and of fighting against the rightist opportunism and anti-socialist forces. These resolutions were not implemented.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission is aware that it should have fought more actively against the progressing disintegration of the Party.

In spite of all the difficulties caused by the activities of the right-wing, but thanks to the fact that the majority of members remained faithful to Marxism-Leninism, the Commission did not come under the control of the rightist opportunists and revisionists, nevertheless the effectivity of its work was reduced. However, the situation inside the directing bodies of the CC of the CPCz and in the Party in general limited the Commission's ability consistently to counteract violations of the Statutes and the line laid down by the 13th Congress.

The Commission regards it as a grave mistake that it supported, albeit with reservations, some incorrect resolutions and standpoints of the Central Committee, as for example our Party's refusal to participate in the Warsaw meeting. Regarding the non-Marxist resolution passed by the Presidium of the Central Committee on the provision of international assistance to the CSSR, on August 21st, 1968, the Central Control and Auditing Commission at its regular meeting on August 22nd, did not support this standpoint, but neither did it openly reject it. Endeavours to preserve formal unity and the effect of the hysterical atmosphere wrongly prevailed over questions of principle.

In the post-January period of 1968 the Commission devoted great attention to applications for Party rehabilitation. This was at the time when the rightist and anti-socialist forces were waging a campaign in which individual functionaries and the Party were being slandered.

The aim of this campaign was not to put right wrongs and criticize the non-Party conduct of particular functionaries, but to attack the basic principles of the Party, socialism, and the measures taken by the Party and State to protect the results of February 1948, to assault the successes and the further development of socialism in our country. This happened during a situation when Statutes and norms of inner-Party life were being widely infringed, when the right-wing was strengthening its position in the Party leadership and calling to account to the Party had been virtually abandoned.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission gradually recognized the true aim of the campaign unleashed in connection with rehabilitation, which became one of the main instruments in the hands of the right-wing leaders for manipulating the broad masses of the people.

References to the number of applications were intentionally exaggerated. Fantastic figures were quoted. In fact, over a period of

a year and a half; Party organs at all levels received 5,354 applications, of which only a negligible number concerned Party rehabilitation. Many people presumed that the time had come when even those who had been guilty of serious offences and had been justly punished could derive some benefit from the Party. The investigation of 880 of the above-mentioned applications was in the competence of the Central Control and Auditing Commission. Ninety-two of these concerned Party rehabilitation. Thus reparation was made for the inconsistency of previous decisions.

Under the influence of non-class attitudes and also unrealistic ideas that the speeding up of the granting of applications would settle the ruffled surface of political and public life, the Commission made some mistakes. Not only those who had been expelled or penalized unjustly were rehabilitated, but also some individuals, in whose cases there were reasons for imposing Party penalties. The Commission often had to take decisions in a situation when the non-Marxist views of formerly expelled members were becoming the officially proclaimed political course.

Despite these faults, the Commission weighed up carefully the majority of applications for revision and Party rehabilitation.

A number of members who had been politically rehabilitated came into conflict with Party Statutes again in 1968—9 and so ranked themselves on the side of the revisionists, the rightist opportunists, and the side of anti-Sovietism. They were later expelled from the Party. Investigation and settlement of applications on central, regional and district levels showed that in the majority of cases Party members who had requested rehabilitation, had been justly called to account to the Party and had justly been given Party penalties. Shortcomings were evident primarily in the infringement of certain principles during Party and disciplinary investigations. Therefore, it is necessary to demand consistent observance of stipulated principles during disciplinary work.

A second characteristic feature of the work of the Commission on questions concerning membership was to try to afford protection to those functionaries and members of the Party who, after January, became victims of slander and political discrimination and whose livelihood was often adversely affected. It is a known fact that in this way the right-wing eliminated thousands of active functionaries and members of the Party in various places and on various levels from the political life of the Party. The Commission strove to ensure that not one of them should be subject to unjust Party punishment.

Whereas up to August 1968 the Commission did not find a way out from the distressing situation into which the entire Party had been manoeuvred by right-wing opportunists in leading Party bodies, after August it gradually found one. This was the struggle to implement the Moscow Protocol, sanctioned by the August plenary session of the CC of the CPCz in 1968. It was on the basis of the relationship to the implementation of the Moscow Protocol that the majority of members became increasingly aware that part of the Party leadership, headed by Dubček, Černík, Smrkovský and others, had given way to right-wing opportunism and that it was necessary to concentrate the activity of the Central Control and Auditing Commission and commissions of lower levels on assisting the activation of the Marxist-Leninist forces and to create conditions for restoring the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, for applying Leninist principles and norms of construction within the Party.

Objective conditions for this procedure existed in the control and auditing commissions. During the Party conferences in 1968 the right-wing had underestimated the composition of the commissions, so that mostly older experienced comrades had remained in them who stood firmly on positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and so could help the Party in this complex struggle.

Methodological help afforded by the Central Control and Auditing Commission, by the national meetings of commission chairmen and objective information about the post-January development and about the aim of international assistance contributed to the fact that the majority of control and auditing commissions at lower levels became one of the mainstays of the Marxist-Leninist force within the Party and contributed to the restoration of the Party's Marxist-Leninist character, and the cleansing of the Party bodies of right-wing opportunists and revisionists. This activity on the part of the control and auditing commissions is given due appreciation in the "Lesson".

The Central Control and Auditing Commission, for instance, requested the Central Committee Presidium to adopt an unqualified standpoint as regards members and candidates of the Central Committee and signatories of the counter-revolutionary appeal, the "2000 words". It requested the drawing of conclusions regarding infringement of Party discipline and Party resolutions in the case of the communist-deputies of the National Assembly. It requested the Executive Committee of the Central Committee Presidium to adopt a Marxist standpoint on the so-called "traitors and collaborators", against whom anti-Party forces were carrying on campaigns, chicanery and terror. On the basis of a resolution passed by the plenary session

of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, the Central Committee Presidium was presented in November 1968 with summarized material on the violation of the Statutes. In this connection the Presidium emphasized the validity of the Statutes, annulled resolutions passed by the city, district and university student conferences held in Prague and Brno about permanent sessions, and demanded the drawing of conclusions concerning the organizers of the factional activity of the so-called friendship alliances between the District Committee Presidium of Prague 1 and the District Committee Presidium of Karlovy Vary.

In November 1968 and again in January 1969 in its report to the Presidium the Commission drew attention to the arbitrary public appearances and false interpretations of the 1968 November resolution of the Central Committee by certain leading party officials, and demanded that conclusions be drawn. The majority of these warnings were turned down or were disregarded by the right-wing majority in the Central Committee Presidium until April 1969.

Prior to the April plenary session of the CC of the CPCz in 1969, the Central Control and Auditing Commission sent a letter to the CC of the CPCz plenary session where it drew attention to the serious state in the Party leadership and in the Party and supported the sound forces in the Central Committee, striving for fundamental personnel changes in the leadership.

A way out from the prolonged and difficult crisis which had hit our Party was found by the April 1969 plenary session. It carried out changes in leading Party functions, and comrade Husák was elected as Party head. The consolidation programme, whose main trends were determined by the May plenary session in 1969, became a realistic guideline on how to lead the Party and society out of this difficult crisis. The Commission welcomed the adopted decisions and fully supported the approved programme. Within the sphere of its authority it actively participated in its implementation. It fully supported the September plenary session of the CC of the CPCz in 1969, which had annulled the anti-Party and anti-Marxist resolutions passed by the CC of the CPCz opposing the line adopted by the 13th Congress, and it took a positive stand on the entry of the allied troops into Czechoslovakia as an act of international assistance. This enabled the launching of an offensive, under the leadership of the CC of the CPCz, against the right-wing and the further unification of Party forces on Marxist-Leninist positions. The leading Party bodies were gradually cleansed of the renegades, who had temporarily seized the majority of key positions.

As far as the Central Control and Auditing Commission itself was concerned, some of its members elected at the 13th Party Congress went over to right-wing positions at the beginning of 1968 and thus became an extended arm of the right-wing Party leaders.

On August 31, 1968, 21 new members were co-opted into the Commission. As a result of the influence of the rightists in the selection of cadres to the Commission, a number of right-wing orientated and also wavering members joined the Commission. In spite of this, the differentiation of opinions, which followed within the Central Control and Auditing Commission and within the Party after August 1968, made possible the gradual isolation of the right-wing exponents and gave support to the Marxist-Leninist forces in leading Party bodies.

The Commission likewise cleansed its ranks of the representatives of the right-wing, who had brought revisionist and opportunist tendencies into the Commission's activities, and hampered its functioning.

Personnel changes within leading Party bodies and a return to a principled policy created conditions for the Commission's functioning.

The Commission, as part of the endeavour to re-establish friendly relations with the socialist countries, sent a study delegation to the Soviet Union at the beginning of December 1968 and later received a study delegation of the Committee for Party Control of the CC of the CPSU, headed by Comrade A. I. Pelshe. These friendly contacts and exchanges of experiences were of great importance for further work. The exchange of study delegations with Party commissions of other fraternal parties began in October 1968.

The Commission concentrated on controlling the resolutions on the implementation of which primarily depended the restoration of the Party organism and the abolition of focal points of crisis phenomena. It submitted the results of the control of adherence to the principles of personnel work to the Presidium of the CC of CPCz, it controlled how the Moscow Protocol adopted by the August plenary session in 1968, the November resolution, and above all, the realization of the directives of the May 1969 plenary session, were being applied in practice. It controlled the progress made in the cleansing of certain important ministries, selected districts and factories of right-wing opportunists. It controlled adherence to resolutions passed on the re-establishment of international relations with the Soviet Union and socialist countries, and made a number of other controls. It also controlled the implementation of the September plenary session of 1969, completed the check on the activity of the "second centre", the initiators and organizers of the so-called Vysočany Congress and of other right-wing representatives.

Check-ups carried out by the Commission aided the Central Committee in identifying the exponents of right-wing opportunism and revisionism who, under the pretext of "improving" socialism had tried to prune Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary essence and had opened the road to the infiltration of bourgeois ideology and the emergence of the counter-revolution. The check-ups revealed the depth of disintegration within the Party, State bodies and mass social organizations, and contributed to the personification of responsibility for this situation. The Commission's findings were used for cleansing the Party, for removing negative trends during the exchange of membership-cards, and in the working out of the "Lesson from the Crisis Development". Investigation of the platform, tactics and destructive activity of the bloc of right-wing and anti-socialist forces, that had been demonstrated in practice in a great variety of campaigns, confirmed that it was an attack against socialism in Czechoslovakia carefully prepared long in advance.

Experience acquired by the Central Control and Auditing Commission during the struggle with the right is in full accord with the "Lesson Drawn from the Crisis Development after the 13th Congress", approved by the CC of the CPCz, and with the generalizations which General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, comrade L. I. Brezhnev, made at the 24th Congress when he said:

"Events in Czechoslovakia have again reminded us that under certain conditions in countries which set out on the road to socialism, internal anti-socialist forces which have persisted in one form or another, can become active and even go over to direct counter-revolutionary actions, relying on support from outside from imperialism, which is always willing to join up with such forces."

The Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCz helped efface the damage committed by the rightist forces and, in harmony with the Statutes of the Party, summoned to Party account those members and functionaries who had violated the Party line and Party Statutes and Central Committee resolutions, in other words, those who had parted ways ideologically with the Party.

On the basis of Party investigations and disciplinary proceedings carried out by the Central Control and Auditing Commission, the Central Committee drew conclusions regarding the initiators and organizers of the counter-revolutionary platform of the "2000 Words", including members and alternate members of the Central Committee. Likewise, the initiators, the writers and propagators of the anti-Party counter-revolutionary booklet, Seven Prague Days, the so-called "Black Book", that gross slander of the Soviet Union and of the com-

rades who in the August days took up a Marxist-Leninist international standpoint, were called to account to the Party, too.

The initiators and organizers of the various anti-Soviet and anti-socialist campaigns waged in the mass media were likewise summoned. Decisive steps in this direction also aided the speedy differentiation and cleansing operation in the press, radio and television, and the activation of sound forces.

On the basis of resolutions passed by the September plenary session of the Central Committee in 1969, the initiators and organizers of the so-called Vysočany Congress and the other representatives of the right-wing opposition, those who bore the main responsibility for the ideological and organizational disruption within the Party for provoking and aggravating situations of crisis, anti-Party and anti-Soviet hysteria in 1968 and at the beginning of 1969, were also summoned to account.

An active part was played in this operation of the CCAC by the departments of the Central Committee, Party organs and the control and auditing commissions of all levels and basic Party organizations. The fight against right-wing forces violating the Statutes and resolutions of the Party, its unity and ability to act, was accompanied by the overcoming of hesitancy, liberalism and unprincipled stands, but also by efforts on the part of the right-wing of the Party to preserve and retain the positions it had gained.

An active role in the process of consolidation has also been fulfilled by the Bureau of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, set up in keeping with the establishment of the Party Central Committee Bureau for the Direction of Party Work in the Czech lands in 1968. The Bureau of the Central Control and Auditing Commission contributed to the efforts to assert Party unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the basis of the Statutes and policy of the Party. It came out in defence of the 99 signatories from the Auto-Praga plant, carried out check-ups of the political situation and of the cleansing of exponents of right-wing opportunism and revisionism, and of the disciplinary proceedings against a number of leading representatives of the right-wing. It also drew a number of Party conclusions concerning the gross violations of Party and State discipline and proposed that conclusions be drawn from the shortcomings ascertained.

Through its activities the Central Control and Auditing Commission participated in the exposure of rightist opportunists at the centre and in this way also in creating prerequisites for cleansing Party bodies, and for a consistent procedure in the exchange of Party cards. In the course of the cleansing of Party bodies it became evident that

there was also the need to complete bodies at all levels of the Party structure with comrades from among the ranks of those who, in the past complicated period, had stood the test as faithful communists actively pushing through the policy of the Party.

The Commission supported this solution which contributed towards the consolidation of Party bodies, to the restoration of their unity on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The cleansing of the Party of alien and hostile elements culminated in the interviews with Party members and in the exchange of Party membership-cards, which was an indispensable prerequisite for restoring the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party.

On the basis of its knowledge, the Central Control and Auditing Commission agrees with the evaluation of the results of the cleansing procedure and of the exchange of Party membership-cards. The centres of the right-wing have been crushed, the Party has got rid of exponents of revisionism and opportunism, career-seekers and a number of passive members, and made a substantial step towards restoring its ideological and organizational unity. In the political struggle against the exponents of petty-bourgeois theories, the Party has strengthened its ranks and restored its capacity to act and its militancy. However, some of the members in the Party are still passive. There must be no reconciliation with this.

It is also necessary to see to it that each Communist knows the Statutes and important resolutions of the Party, which is the basic prerequisite of active participation in their realization.

The cleansing of the Party and the exchange of Party membership-cards proceeded in keeping with the Party Statutes and the resolutions of the January plenum of 1970. The Central Control and Auditing Commission fully supported the measures taken by the Central Committee, including the resolution of the Party Central Committee Presidium of April 14, 1970, and saw to their consistent implementation, actively opposing manifestations of conciliation.

The Commission supports the proposal that Congress should approve the course of the Party Central Committee and the results of the cleansing of the Party carried out in conjunction with the exchange of Party membership-cards, and that it should express its appreciation of the work of members of the interviewing groups and all communists who, especially in 1968—1969, were fighting for the Marxist-Leninist character of our Party. Experience has taught us that the Party must wage a constant struggle with revisionism and right-wing opportunism as the main danger, and that it must see to it that no alien, hostile elements penetrate it.

The Central Committee of the Party also adopted measures to rectify

the mistakes and shortcomings which were inevitable in such a great campaign as was the exchange of Party membership-cards connected with the cleansing of the Party. Each member had the chance within the period set by the Party Statutes to ask for the revision of the decision. After the exchange of Party membership-cards, a total of 21,207 appeals were submitted by May 1, 1971 against expulsion and 12,987 complaints against annulment of Party membership.

Appeals were submitted mainly by those former members who had held important State, economic and other leading functions.

The results of the appeals which have been considered confirm that in the absolute majority of cases the lower Party bodies proceeded in keeping with the directives of the CC, and their decisions were correct.

The number of appeals still to be considered is high. It will call for persistent work on the part of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, its *aktiv* and apparatus. In dealing with the appeals, the Commission, will act in a principled manner and observe the procedure laid down by the CC of the CPCz proceeding from the letter of that body on the exchange of Party membership-cards.

Experience shows that the consideration of questions related to membership and of individual appeals and organizational questions in the plenum of the Commission is not very satisfactory. The Commission therefore considers it correct to propose that the Statutes incorporate the right of the Central Control and Auditing Commission to set up a managing body for solving these questions, which will be accountable for its activities to the plenum of the Central Control and Auditing Commission.

The Party Statutes enjoin the Central Control and Auditing Commission to check timeliness and correctness in handling suggestions, observations and complaints submitted to the CC of the CPCz. Attention given to material submitted and care given to handling it increases confidence in the Party and its policy, not only among members but also among non-Party people.

From the 13th Congress up to the end of 1970, the CC of the CPCz received nearly 80,000 letters and complaints. The majority of them expressed interest in political and social life, in its socialist development.

A gradual decline was recorded in the number of suggestions, observations and complaints aimed at the solution of difficulties of individuals (social security, housing problems, questions related to labour legislation and property law), and attention markedly shifted

towards the solution of problems of wider social impact. A number of the letters reflected concern for solving the crisis-ridden situation within the Party from Marxist-Leninist positions, for the observance of the Party Statutes and for the implementation of the resolutions of Party bodies. Many, mostly justified remarks, drew attention to the political and personnel situation, to the acts of chicanery against those with Marxist-Leninist attitudes in the period of crisis in 1968, to the level of organization and management, to bad husbandry in State, economic and social organizations.

It is also impossible to overlook that we are still coming across quite a high incidence of anonymity. Although there has been a gradual decline in this respect in comparison with 1968, it nevertheless represents 12 per cent of all letters sent to the Central Control and Auditing Commission. From the contents of investigated anonymous letters one may conclude that they were motivated by fears, on the part of their authors, of the adverse consequences of their criticism, which was justified in most cases. Anonymity is also increased by those who do not sign their letters because by their so-called criticism they disparage and deprecate the efforts of the Party for the consolidation of our life. These anonymous letters are evidence of the activities of hostile forces wanting to impair the work of the Party.

Working people also turn to the CC of the CPCz and the Central Control and Auditing Commission with letters, where solution falls within the competence of lower Party bodies, State bodies and social organizations to which they are referred.

It is clear that these bodies should show greater consistency in handling observations, examine the causes of the shortcomings and prevent their repetition by consistent control.

It must constantly be borne in mind that work on the suggestions, observations and complaints of working people serves the Party by exposing the shortcomings, disorders and unlawfulness which make people's lives difficult, and by eliminating their causes and calling to account those who through their activities have caused the shortcomings.

The handling of each suggestion, observation or complaint must be viewed as an expression of the care of the Party and the State for man, for invigorating socialist relations among people, as an expression of the protection of the interests of the whole of society and in harmony with them, of the protection of the rights of citizens. The Party must support everything that is healthy and progressive in the creative initiative of working people, educate them towards being irreconcilable to manifestations and trends threatening or impeding the development and the aims of socialist society, its ideological and

moral unity. Together with this, it must fight against the violation of work-discipline, irresponsibility, adulation, parasitism, corruption, larceny, against all survivals of petty-bourgeois attitudes and of the past in the activities of people.

Great attention must also be given to the handling of oral observations raised at meetings and various gatherings.

It is urgent to create at all levels of Party structure adequate organizational, methodological, personnel and technical prerequisites for the elimination of shortcomings and for the consistent implementation of the principles relating to work on the suggestions, observations and complaints of working people; also to improve analytical work and to ensure the flow of the necessary information to Party bodies which is required for their cognitive and guiding activities.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission and the Regional and District Control and Auditing Commissions paid considerable attention and care to the management of Party finances in the period following the 13th Party Congress.

Revisions have shown that the crisis-ridden developments of the years 1968—1969 exerted a negative influence in this sphere, too, and that there is still much to be improved.

Membership dues constitute the main item of Party income. The payment of dues, in time and in the prescribed amounts, is one of the fundamental conditions of membership in the Party. The favourable development and results of payment of membership dues in the years preceding the 13th Congress made it possible to set new principles and to reduce the dues of the majority of Party members, as from January 1, 1967.

In 1968, a slackening of discipline in primary organizations and among individuals as regards payment and the handing-over of membership dues appeared. A number of members and primary organizations grossly violated the Statutes of the Party, without any consequences being drawn from it. The payment of membership dues was in some cases linked with the political demands of rightist-oriented organizations. There were cases where dues collected from members were withheld, and the handing over of the money was attached to the condition that, for example, the Party Congress must be convened, or to other political demands after August 1968. Some CPCz primary organizations fixed their own scales with substantially lower membership dues, or failed to hand over the money to higher Party bodies.

The beginning of the consolidation process after the April 1969 Plenary session of the Central Committee had a more favourable

influence on the development as regards payment of Party membership dues. Most Party bodies began to pay greater attention to the payment of dues, and a turning point came during the exchange of Party membership-cards.

Despite this favourable development, certain shortcomings appeared also in 1970. There were cases where members did not pay their dues in time and to the amount prescribed, whereby they grossly infringed Party Statutes, and the committees of Party organizations did not draw any conclusions from this. Certain primary organizations did not hand over membership dues in time to the District Committees of the CPCz. It will be necessary in the forthcoming period for all Party organs, including the Control and Auditing Commissions, to pay attention to the situation in the payment of dues, and to activate auditing groups of the committees of the primary organizations of the CPCz.

The takings of the CPCz press enterprises represent a considerable share of the Party's total income. In the past few years, as a consequence of the destructive process in the Party and society, there was a serious drop in the circulation of the majority of Party periodicals and dailies.

Since 1970, in accordance with the progressing process of consolidation, their circulation has been gradually increasing again.

The publishing activities and distribution of the Party press are important instruments in the development of ideological, educational and organizational work, in raising the standards of information, political commitment and education of members. However, in 1968—1969, publications with anti-Party, anti-socialist and anti-Soviet leanings were being published in the Party's publishing enterprises, and articles against the Party were appearing in the Party press. Experience shows that it is necessary to give systematic attention to the orientation and ideological impact of the Party press and publishing activities.

We must regard distribution and use of the press and Party publications in and outside the Party as a permanent task of all Party bodies, primary organizations and Party members.

The past developments in the Party have also affected expenditure in the Party's economy. Expenditure grew in almost all spheres, with the exception of propaganda, schooling and meetings. Moreover, some of the funds, which were spent, especially in 1968, were also misused for the anti-Party activities of the rightists.

The Party spends considerable sums on the systematic education of cadres in Party schools.

In the period since the 13th Congress, 891 persons graduated from the Party Political College, 6,757 persons completed short-term courses.

There has been a very intensive expansion of Party schooling since 1970 when, for example, in regional schools more than 6,000 persons were trained from September 1970 to February 1971. Great assistance was given us in this connection by the CPSU. The overall situation in the Party, the need to prepare new cadres and functionaries elected to its organs and to supplement the Party apparatus requires intensive utilization of all existing capacities.

A major item in Party expenditure are the salaries of the workers in the apparatus, whose role is irreplaceable in the interests of ensuring a high standard of Party work. It was no coincidence that the right-wing in the Party, began its disruptive activities by attacks on the Party apparatus. It succeeded in partially impairing its functioning.

The CC of the CPCz and lower party bodies exerted great efforts after April 1969 to eliminate these shortcomings.

Despite the degree of consolidation attained in the Party apparatus, the selflessness and active commitment of its workers, it will be essential to continue giving constant attention to building it up, to raising the standard of its qualifications, and to increasing its overall effectiveness and the quality of its work.

The standard and effectiveness of the work of the apparatus depend also on its material and technical equipment. Even though considerable sums were expended in the past on these needs, the material and technical conditions do not yet quite meet the requirements of the Party. This concerns mainly the need gradually to provide Party bodies with modern technical equipment facilitating organization and communication. Appropriate measures have already been adopted.

In 1970, 69.8 per cent of all Party expenditure was used for the activities of Regional and District Committees and primary organizations. It is essential for discipline in finance matters to be tightened, and for the principles and directives adopted on Party finance to be observed. A systematic control of Party finances will help ensure that Party funds are used economically, in full accord with the needs of the Party.

The Central Control and Auditing Commission hereby informs the 14th CPCz Congress, that the CC of the CPCz has regularly dealt with the Party's finances. Since 1968, the Party budgets have been approved, in compliance with the Statutes, by the plenary of the CPCz Central Committee. The Central Control and Auditing Commission notes that no such shortcomings have been found in the management of Party finances which would indicate incorrect recording of results, and that with the exception of certain expenditures in 1968 and at the beginning of 1969, the financial means were used to ensure the fulfilment of tasks adopted so as to implement the resolutions of the 13th Congress.

An integral part of Party work and prerequisite of correct decision-making is the essential Party administrative system and files. The present state and standard of Party administration does not yet fully meet the needs and does not correspond with the level of political consolidation attained.

Membership files play an important role in the Party's political work. Serious shortcomings have survived in this respect, to be seen in the imprecise reports and statistics, essential for directing political work.

It is necessary to stress the duty of members to be registered, and the attendant duty to be politically active in local and street organizations. It appears that so far some members have been neglecting this duty, and that they do not always act as communists.

Observance of approved rules, accurate and properly kept membership files, have assumed special importance since the exchange of Party membership-cards, particularly in connection with the tasks which have been laid down from the point of view of the purposeful regulation of the social and age structure of the Party. Order in this sphere is a concrete expression of concern for Party members and their attitude to the Party.

Infringements of directives on introducing uniformity into Party administration grew in particular during the years 1968 and 1969.

Despite the measures which have been adopted, there are still some shortcomings in the style of administration.

Consequently, the CC of the CPCz has recently adopted measures to remove these shortcomings and to ensure that vigilance and watchfulness is increased.

Comrades,

The report of the CC of the CPCz and the proposals which have been submitted outline a programme for the future work of our Party and the whole of society. The programme also includes the Lesson from the Crisis Development, and stresses as an essential task the need to strengthen still further the ideological, organizational and action unity of the Party on positions of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and on the basis of the Party Statutes, in the way that the content of this unity is formulated in the resolution on topical questions of Party unity.

A proposal has been submitted to the 14th Congress of the Party to make certain amendments in the Party Statutes. The Central Control and Auditing Commission endorses this proposal, which is in keeping with the present requirements of Party work and the strengthening of Party unity.

The main task of the control and auditing commissions will be to make maximum contributions to the implementation of the resolutions which will be adopted by the 14th Party Congress, and to consistently carry out all tasks arising from the Party Statutes.

1. It will be essential to strive for the consistent observance of the Party Statutes, and to draw the consequences from cases of their infringement by Party members and organizations, to carry out checks on the implementation of the resolution on topical questions of Party unity which has long-term validity and assigns concrete tasks for the further strengthening of the Party's unity in ideology, organization and action. This requires, in particular the consistent application of democratic centralism, the fulfilment by Party members of their duties, respect for their rights, the promotion of inner-Party democracy, collective leadership, criticism and self-criticism, the tightening of conscientious discipline and increased awareness of personal responsibility. It will be necessary to call to account those whose acts run counter to the Party and State discipline, and who by their acts besmirch the good name of Party members.
2. It will be necessary to take an active part in the struggle against revisionism and rightist opportunism both in theory and in practice, to be constantly on guard to prevent alien, hostile elements from infiltrating the party, to contribute to the elimination of the vestiges of formalism and the passivity of Party members; to work towards the consistent implementation of the CC of the CPCz resolution as regards cadre and personnel work.
3. To control the fulfilment of the main tasks outlined by the 14th Party Congress, to submit reports on the results of this control to the appropriate Party bodies, to share in the overall strengthening of the control function of the entire Party in keeping with Lenin's dictum that:
"To test people and to check on what they have really done — therein, once more, therein, and only therein is the crux of all work, of all politics..." [V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol. 23, p. 224, (Czech edit.)].
4. To complete the settlement of appeals against decisions taken during the exchange of Party membership-cards, to control the observance of the principles of disciplinary action and to see that the composition of Party membership is purposefully regulated.
5. Through control measures, to ensure that suitable action on the complaints and critical observations of working people be taken in time.
6. To control the standard of and order in keeping Party files and

in the administrative system, and to see that watchfulness and vigilance is maintained.

7. To audit Party finances with a view to achieving the maximum economy and effectiveness of all expenditures, and to ensuring incomes.
8. To give methodological help to the control and auditing commissions at lower levels; and to activate enterprises, works, city and local control and auditing commissions and comrades in primary organizations entrusted with auditing finances and checking membership files and Party administration.

Comrades,

Our Party celebrates the 50th anniversary of its foundation once again unified on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, on the Leninist principles of the life and construction of the Party. The new tasks contained in the Report of the Central Committee to the Congress, outline bold prospects for the further development of our socialist homeland. They are tasks which express the most vital interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers and the socialist intelligentsia, the interests of all our people, especially the younger generation. It is a policy of further strengthening friendship and alliance with the socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet people and its Communist Party, whose 24th Congress also inspired us in our deliberations.

We are convinced that all working people in our country will accept these tasks as their own, and that — together with the communists — they will transform them into deeds.

Lubomír Štrougal,

**Member of the Presidium
of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia and Prime Minister
of the Federal Government of the Republic**

**MAIN TRENDS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA FOR
THE YEARS 1971 — 1975**

Comrades,

The CC of the CPCz hereby submits to the 14th Congress for consideration Draft Directives for a Fifth Five-Year plan for the development of the national economy in the years 1971—1975.

The new leadership of the Party considered it to be one of its main tasks to resume work on the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Continuation of the work was made possible by the fact that the Party, headed by its new leadership, led by first secretary, comrade Husák, succeeded within a short time in eliminating the main consequences of the disruption in the political and economic spheres, and in restoring the Marxist-Leninist principles of the work and life of the Party, the State and the economy.

Thanks to concentrated effort, the Presidium of the Party Central Committee and the Government were able to discuss the main tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan already in July last year, and at the same time to specify them together with directives for framing the 1971 plan. The Draft Directives are thus based on a relatively high degree of preparation of the Five-Year Plan itself.

The Directives set forth the main orientation and the chief proportions of further economic development so as to ensure that it is well-balanced and has the necessary degree of stability. This is essential, above all, for laying the foundations for the structural changes which require long-term investments, for the concept of more intensive participation on the part of our economy in the international division of labour and in external economic relations in general, and finally for the projecting of changes in the needs and way of life of society.

In order to be able to base our long-term plans on a more reliable knowledge of the future needs of our society, we also began working

on the analytical forecasting of its economic development for the next 10 to 15 years. We assume that the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the preparation of which we want to start in 1973, will already be conceived in keeping with the objectives of the long-term outlook.

We consider it very important that as regards main directions and aims, preparatory work on the Fifth Five-Year Plan was carried out in coordination with the work on the Five-Year Plans of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, particularly the Soviet Union.

The results of the 24th Congress of the CPSU are for us not only a source of inspiration and certainty, but also a pillar of support for our economic intentions and socio-economic goals. Moreover, they enable us to rely still more on the powerful economic base of the Soviet Union and its rapidly developing science and technology, and in comradely cooperation with it to multiply our strength and thus to contribute towards the growth of the economic potential of the whole socialist community.

Discussion of the Draft Directives for framing the Fifth Five-Year Plan has confirmed the correctness of our basic economic intentions. It was considered by the Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, the Central Committee Bureau, the Regional Conferences, District and Regional Committees of the Party and by their politico-economic *aktiv*. It was discussed by the organs of the social organizations, the Presidium of the Central Council of Trade Unions, the other political parties, as well as by economic bodies and organizations.

From the examination of the Draft Directives, carried out mainly by the Party and other bodies, the following two summary conclusions can be drawn:

- the correctness of the political course of the Party after April 1969 has been fully confirmed also in the economic sphere, and the economic results attained were favourably evaluated;
- active political support was voiced for all the main trends of the economic policy of the Party, contained in the Draft Directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy in the period 1971–1975.

At the same time, a number of comments and suggestions were made during the discussion which render the Draft Directives more specific or complement them. In a few instances, there were demands for the solving of certain problems, mostly justified, which, however, exceed the scope of our possibilities in the present five-year period.

The comments and suggestions are carefully studied from the point of view of the possibility of concrete actions. Response to many of them has already been made in the form of detailing and complement-

ing the Draft Directives which have been submitted to you. Suggestions of major importance will be taken into consideration in the final drafting of the Five-Year Plan.

The socio-political significance of the Draft Directives was analyzed in a broader context by comrade Husák in the Report of the Central Committee; this report represents a comprehensive concept of the political and economic development of our Republic in the coming years.

In effect, about two decades have elapsed since the postwar reconstruction of our economy and the mapping out of the line of its socialist transformation. It is roughly the same period of times as the duration of the First Republic. This provides an opportunity to compare what the capitalists achieved in the development of the production forces in the era of the Republic which they controlled, with what has been achieved — on the other hand — by the working class which, under the leadership of the CPCz, has organized its socialist state. The two periods are entirely different in character, with the assets fully in favour of socialism.

Considering the size and conditions of our country, we have built a really powerful material-technical base during the years of socialist construction, ensured growth in the standard of living, and introduced a set of social measures which are convincing proof of the advantages and superiority of socialism. Our present-day economic standard ranks us among the economically advanced countries of the world.

Naturally, the development of our economy was not free of difficulties. However, periods of generally successful effort predominated.

Despite the shortcomings and mistakes which were deliberately exaggerated by the rightist-opportunist forces, the fact remains, when evaluating the results of our socialist construction, that we have achieved notable successes:

- Since 1948, national income has grown almost four times and personal consumption three times. This is the successful result of the efforts of the workers, cooperative farmers and working intelligentsia. There is nothing similar to be found in the history of the economic development of bourgeois Czechoslovakia, whose national income exceeded the pre-World War I level only as late as during the years 1925–1929. In the period of the world economic depression, the national income dropped sharply again, and the pre-war bourgeois Republic never succeeded in extricating it from that state of affairs. It is easy to imagine how the real wages and standard of living of the working people developed under those conditions.

— Compared to 1937, industrial production has risen seven times. The industrial output of Slovakia alone is much higher than that of entire pre-war Czechoslovak industry. In the structure of industrial production and export, branches typical for a modern economy — the engineering and chemical industries — predominate.

— In agriculture, we have increased the pre-war productivity of labour almost 3.5 times, and the intensity of per hectare production by one-third. This has been possible only due to the fact that our agriculture is based on socialist production relations, the wide application of mechanization and large-scale production technologies, as well as on an expanding fodder industry and a growing consumption of chemical fertilizers. Thanks to this, grain yield is two-thirds higher compared with pre-war level, sugar beet yield almost one-third higher, milk yield one-fourth. The production of meat has more than doubled.

— The building industry, formerly mainly small-scale in character, and orientated largely to housing construction, adopted modern industrial methods of work and has been coping successfully with the construction of the largest industrial projects, water economy works and transport routes.

— In railway transport, electrical and Diesel tractions now predominate, and all parts of the country are interlinked by a bus network without parallel anywhere else. Buses serve more than 82 per cent of Czechoslovak communities directly, while the people in 14 per cent of the rest of the communities can use bus services operating not farther than 2 kilometres away. The development of the road haulage industry and of private motoring is progressing fast, the construction of a motorway and the Prague Underground have been started.

— Before the war, there was practically no scientific research base of our own. In the years of socialist construction, we have built it to an extent which is in keeping with the requirements of an industrially advanced country. This made it possible for us to become, in a number of fields, originators of scientific and technological progress. Some 146,000 persons work in the scientific research and development base.

— Our country has attained a very high level of education. We have substantially expanded the network of schools and other educational institutions, and made cultural values available to the broadest strata of the population.

— The socialist system has introduced and provided economic conditions for such achievements as the right to work guaranteed by the Constitution, working time one of the shortest and paid holidays one of the longest in the world, a social security system which covers practically all strata of the population, and the right to free health care, including medicaments.

— We have been successfully accomplishing the tasks set by the Party programme as regards closing the economic gap between towns and rural areas, between the incomes of workers and cooperative farmers, also as regards the distribution of labour and jobs in various parts of the country, and, above all, the historical task of balancing the economic levels of the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republics.

— The standard of nutrition, clothing and of the equipment of households with durable consumer goods is up to the average of the economically advanced European countries. The caloric value of per capita daily food consumption has been running for a number of years between 3,100 to 3,200 calories, which corresponds to the standard of the most advanced countries. The annual per capita consumption of textile yarns is in excess of 13 kg, which is the same standard as that of Sweden, the FRG or Belgium. In terms of the numbers of radios, TV sets, washing machines and refrigerators, Czechoslovak households are also well in keeping with European standards. At present, faster progress is being initiated in housing construction and private motoring.

All this seems almost to be taken for granted today. And yet it is these facts which demonstrate the fundamental difference between the approach of the socialist state and the Communist Party to the vital interests of the people, and the stand taken on these questions by many capitalist states, including the advanced countries.

Our socialist society is primarily concerned with permanent social interests, that is — above all — with lifelong and social certainty. It systematically improves the living and working conditions of the broadest strata of the population, and strives for an all-round socialist development of man.

This is indeed a positive balance-sheet of which we can rightly be proud. Not even the most venomous spittle or hate-filled slanders on the part of our internal or external enemies can belittle these results in the eyes of our workers. All said and done, this has been the work of the Czech and Slovak people, work for which a whole generation of builders of socialism gave all their skill, their best efforts and their hearts. It might have been even more successful if we had been able consistently, at all times, to fulfil the tasks assigned us by the 13th Congress of the Party, and especially if the serious deviations of the years 1968 and 1969 had not occurred.

The basic sources and direct causes of the economy's development in those years were revealed in the document adopted by the December meeting of the CC of the CPCz, namely 'Lesson drawn from the

Crisis Development'. In economic theory and economic practice a transformation of the socialist economy was being prepared and brought into effect which would have turned it into a system that would have deprived the working class and other workers of their revolutionary achievements, of all their political and economic certainties. The forces of the rightist opportunist, anti-socialist bloc reckoned that the gradual worsening of the economic situation would evoke spontaneous dissatisfaction among the workers, which they would then have misused in the fight against socialist power.

The most blatant expression of these efforts was that our economy ceased to be guided by a national economic plan. The efforts to push through the so-called market model of the economy seriously impaired the proportions of the formation and distribution of resources, as they were envisaged by the 4th Five-Year Plan. This led our economy into a state of crisis.

The necessary link-up between the material and financial aspects of extended reproduction was seriously impaired, capital construction developing in an uncontrolled way and beyond our actual possibilities, the fast growing incomes of the population getting into sharp contrast with the situation on the domestic market. The overall indices of production trends concealed the danger of imminent economic collapse, with all its unfavourable consequences for the further development of the economy and the standard of living.

The energetic measures taken by the new leadership of the Party, designed to divert this disastrous development, brought the economy out of the critical situation, without affecting the living standard. We scored this outstanding political success through a fierce struggle against the rightist opportunist and anti-socialist forces in the Party and society.

Last year, the planned tasks in industry, the building industry and in agriculture were exceeded, the domestic market settled down, stocks of goods were replenished, confidence in the stability of our currency was restored, trade and the balance of payments improved. We succeeded in winning the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the working people for the policy of the Party, which is also to be seen in the considerable expansion of initiative at work and in socialist emulation. The basis for the successful start of the Five-Year Plan was stabilized, and positive trends are now prevalent in economic development. The plan for this year strengthens these positive features of our economic development still further.

However, despite these incontestably positive facts, a number of shortcomings exist which impede and impair the effectiveness of the

development of our national economy, and adversely affect the everyday life of the people.

For many years, we have been grappling with the problem of excessively high consumption of raw materials and the basic materials, fuel and power. We cannot be satisfied with the rate of progress and extent of the restructuring of the assortment of products, as it is not in keeping with the possibilities of our industry and the large scientific research and development base, and with the requirements and tastes of our consumers. We also cannot indefinitely ignore the unsatisfactory utilization of capital assets, while demands for new capital construction are steadily growing. There is still a large volume of unfinished construction; construction schedules are unjustifiably long, the newly built capacities are not being put into operation on schedule, supplies for capital projects of decisive importance are not always fluent enough. Very often we meet with cases where not enough care is taken to ensure the protection of socialist property. In shops, too, everything is not always to the full satisfaction of the customers, and the same goes for services.

These shortcomings stem mainly from the low standard of management, and from insufficient working, planning and financial discipline at the various levels, from subordinating the interests of society to the narrow interests of branches, enterprises and individuals. Redress of this situation must be to the forefront of the attention of all management bodies.

Comrades,

In the next five years, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue to pursue the sober and realistic policy, the correctness and viability of which was convincingly confirmed by the close of the year 1969 and last year. It is a policy based on the systematic maintenance of harmony between the formation and utilization of resources, and on such a distribution of resources as will ensure a steady growth of the living standard, and at the same time lay the foundations for an all-round, long-term development of the national economy.

In its concrete proportions, economic development in the 1971—1975 period is framed so as to induce us, while drawing up ambitious development plans, to set ourselves such tasks, as will not exceed existing possibilities and the degree of possible mobilization of internal reserves.

Already today, a number of factors exert a marked influence on the conditions and sources of further economic development, and in future their influence will grow in strength. The considerably exhaus-

ted manpower resources, the fast growing demand for imports of power and basic raw materials, the effort to meet the needs of the people in a better way — all this necessitates resolute change in the ways and means of implementing the economic programme of the Party.

Our future successes will primarily depend on how far we succeed in making use of accumulated material and intellectual resources within our society and on our ability to ensure the rhythmical flow of the economy in internal and external relations.

Optimum variations were sought for the solution of these problems and for the further increase in the productivity and efficiency of our economy. We carefully weighed the possibilities available in the accessible sources of economic growth. For this reason the Draft Directives are based on an analysis of the greater or lesser advantages of their utilization in various forms.

In considering the possible ways of further development of the economy, we naturally started out from the advantages connected with the further development of the international division of labour and we also considered the marketing of our products.

Taking the current volume of investments, we shall concentrate — so as to ensure the maximum efficiency of means invested — on reducing the number of unfinished building projects, on speeding up construction and on the rapid completion of production capacities. We shall concentrate our main resources on speeding up the growth of developing industries, primarily on the mining of fuel and the production of building materials, on starting large investment programmes, which will create conditions for structural changes in production, and on the adaptation and modernization of old plants and on speeding up housing construction.

By seeking for the optimum economic structures it is our intention to make better use of local power sources, to give marked preference to chemical production as an important raw material sector and to strive for a quick productivity increase, and to economize with materials, raw materials and power.

By concentrating attention on measures which markedly increase production efficiency, it will be possible in the next five years through an increase in productivity to cover the national income increment by 95 per cent as compared with the present 85 per cent.

It is our intention to develop specific industries in such a way that by greater production efficiency we shall be able to keep up the fairly rapid rate in the development of the national economy. The national income will grow at an annual average of over 5 per cent, in other words by approximately 28 per cent by 1975. This is roughly the same dynamics of annual growth as for the past 15 years — and more than

that achieved by most of the industrially developed capitalist countries.

In overall terms this will represent for the whole Fifth Five-Year Plan a volume of national income of roughly 1,800,000 million crowns, which is 400,000 million crowns more than for the years 1966 till 1970. National income increments for the Fifth Five-Year Plan will be roughly the same as the total increment for the Second and Third Five-Year Plans.

The greater speed in the development of the economy in Slovakia makes it possible to carry on with the correct solution of the nationality problem by further balancing the economies in the two parts of the Republic.

The basis for the further development of production forces will be industry, which must play a decisive role in creating the main conditions for the fulfilment of the exacting task of developing our economy. The basic task in the development of agriculture is to cover the increment of consumption of basic foodstuffs by home production and thus to make an important contribution to the stability of the entire economy.

The current complicated international situation calls for the Party, through its economic policy, to strengthen and expand the country's ability to defend itself. Questions of state security are given the constant attention of both the Party and Government and they regard this field as an inseparable part of their activity. This is evidenced by the army's modern military equipment.

Again I should like to recall that the future development of the national economy and the anticipated degree of satisfying the needs of citizens and of society will depend above all to the extent to which we shall succeed in increasing the efficiency of the entire reproduction process. Therefore we must abide daily by these directives:

1. to make more efficient use of scientific and technological know-how, to apply it with greater speed in practice, to increase the impact of our own scientific research resources by concentrating them on the principal tasks and by making greater use of the possibilities of international scientific and technological cooperation;

2. to make considerably better use of production capacities, the abilities and high skill of our workers, to use power, raw materials and materials more economically and to make full use of existing manpower;

3. to increase the standard of management at all levels of our national economy;

4. to carry out changes in the structure of production and strive for its greater concentration and specialization;

5. to deepen and improve the process of international socialist economic integration.

The concept of economic expansion for the years 1971 till 1975 is based on the experiences we have gained during the construction of socialism. It strives for a realistic but also ambitious, primarily qualitative change in the inner volume of economic development so that we can reliably ensure a growth in living standards and create conditions for the economic expansion of the Republic after 1975.

Comrades,

We are living and working at a time when science and technology are undergoing increasingly rapid and profound changes, which create pressure for changes in production and in the life of society. The basic problem in the expansion of any economy is its purposeful management. This naturally goes for us too.

Over the past 20 years, important structural changes, particularly in industrial production, have taken place. The engineering industry's share has grown considerably, as has that of the chemical industry and the production of building materials.

In the Fifth Five-Year Plan we shall lay the foundations for further large-scale structural changes and we shall speed up their realization. We must direct this process better than before by means of a national economic plan and by applying further measures decided by state, political and economic bodies.

Industry will continue to be the basis for the expansion of the production forces. It is our concern that this expansion be very efficient, that it be derived from the permanent growth of labour productivity and the more efficient use of basic means. The Draft Directives therefore contain a considerable number of tasks and criteria for the indispensable qualitative, technological and economic changes which will take place within each industrial sector and branch.

In this connection I wish to draw attention to the main changes in the production structure and the technological and economic conversions, which we have in mind for the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

To enable us to overcome the shortcomings of the past period, we are setting ourselves ambitious tasks for the development of the fuel and power base. As far as fuel and power are concerned, it is not just a case of stepping-up production and imports, but primarily of improving the national economic efficiency of fuel and power management. Therefore we are setting ourselves the task of increasing the share of refined fuel, crude oil and natural gas; their share in the fuel and

power balance will increase from the present 21 per cent to over 31 per cent in 1975.

In coal mining the increment of resources depends primarily on how we master coal production with the aid of highly efficient machines in lignite coal-mines, and further, how we progress in introducing new technologies and abolishing strenuous work in deep mines.

Both industry and the building trade must fully concentrate on the construction of the planned power plants. By 1975, the Directives count with an increment of power production of 39 per cent. Therefore we must put into operation at full capacity new power plants with an overall output of nearly 3,700 MW. In particular, it is vital to adhere to the set time schedules in the construction of new thermal power plants with 200 MW blocks in Počerady, Tušimice, Dětmarovice, with 110 MW blocks in Mělník, Vojany, Nováky and new hydro power plants at Ružín, Liptovská Mara and Dalešice. In this Five-Year Plan we shall start construction of two nuclear power plants of the Voronezh type.

For capital construction in power and fuel branches, a total of nearly 60,000 million crowns has been allotted, which represents nearly a third of all industrial investments in the Fifth Five-Year Plan. These means must be converted into coal, electricity and gas and thus ensure a sufficiency of fuel and power for our national economy.

In spite of this overall expansion of fuel and power resources we shall insist on strict adherence to the stipulated regulations for drawing from central networks and on strict economy in consumption. At every factory, enterprise, general management and ministry it is necessary to work out a complex plan of rationalization of consumption and to provide for its fulfilment.

In iron metallurgy, it is primarily a case of using new efficient technological processes and expansion in the production of high quality steel, sheets, tubes and small sections. In the production of pig iron, we intend to increase the average capacity of blast furnaces and, at the same time, to reduce their number. The metal content of ores, concentrates and pellets will be raised. This, during the course of the Five-Year Plan, will make possible a reduction in the consumption of metallurgical coke by approximately 13 per cent, which means a saving of approximately $\frac{3}{4}$ million tons of coke by 1975 compared with 1970. In steel production the share of converter steel will increase in the share of production in tandem and electrical furnaces at the expense of the less economical and more power consuming open-hearth furnaces. We are counting on a considerable increase in the production of dynamo and transformer sheets, tin and zinc plated sheet metal for packing purposes and motor car bodies, which will bring about an important saving of metal in the processing industries.

The engineering industry will continue to be the decisive material base for the expansion and modernization of all other branches of the national economy. Therefore its production must grow at a greater speed than overall industrial production. The engineering industry is faced with a number of fundamental structural changes, the preparation and carrying out of which is extremely complex.

The planned growth of the social productivity of labour in this entire national economy, as well as the need to increase export efficiency, call for a constant ability to master new equipment of greater production performance, with a relatively lower consumption of material and power, with lower demands on manpower, and with high operational reliability and durability. The gradual narrowing of the assortment of engineering products, accompanied by an extensive link-up with the international division of labour must be directed at economically advantageous, though technologically ambitious, branches or suitable groups of products, which are based on a more extensive use of scientific and technological know-how, and on the tradition and skill of our workers. The basis for this concept was given by the selection of the so-called developing programmes.

It is evident, however, that the greatest problem is to decide which programmes should be dropped from engineering production so that we can expand or innovate the production of the developing programmes. In this respect measures must be taken for ministries, sectoral and enterprise managements to prepare definite methods for restricting and closing down production which we do not intend to expand.

The developing programmes include, primarily, selected groups of products from the fields of electrotechnics, electronics, computer and automation equipment, lorries, cars and agricultural machinery, as well as machine tools with an increased share of digitally controlled machines, moulding machines and systems for mechanized and automated assembly, and appliances for checking and measuring. If we are to make full use of all the advantages of these modern machines, we must use them in integrated production branches, in flexible automatic production lines and gradually in workshops optimized by managing computers.

It is likewise no small task for the engineering industry to supply agriculture and the food industry with the necessary machines and equipment. Large-scale agricultural technology requires new systems of machines for livestock and crop production. In question is a very exacting and wide range of machines which, apart from expanding home production, we cannot have without international cooperation.

In the Fifth Five-Year Plan we shall also develop other engineering

products, important for the building industry, transport, consumer industry and the home market.

By the modernization of machine equipment and the suitable placing and organization of production programmes we must see to it that the engineering industry can fulfil these tasks with basically its present number of employees.

In harmony with development to date, production in the chemical industry will grow faster than in all other industrial branches. In addition, we shall make important structural changes in the chemical industry of long-term effect. This refers particularly to the demanding investment programme in the field of processing crude oil, in petrochemicals and the production of synthetic materials. The expansion of inter-related petrochemical complexes is primarily to secure a sufficient variety of plastic materials for the engineering, building and other industries, to provide sufficient basic materials for modern synthetic fibres and to lessen our dependence on the import of synthetic rubber. In addition, the growing demands of agriculture call for an expansion in the production of industrial fertilizers.

The expansion of chemical production will be carried out with the aid of efficient equipment of high productivity and a lower consumption of raw materials and power, such as an ammonia synthesis plant of a 1000 t/day capacity, a pyrolysis plant for the production of ethylene of a capacity of 300 thousand tons per year, and the like. Partly we shall import this equipment but partly our chemical engineering industry must develop it and produce it on a high technical standard itself.

In forestry and the wood-processing industry we shall count on an increased ability to produce and on the biological growth of forests, but also on the full and complex use of wood material.

In all spheres of the wood-processing industry, production will considerably rise. The structure of furniture production must go much further towards satisfying the requirements of consumers and must react quickly to changes in demand. We want to make better use of wood and process as much of it as possible ourselves, for example, through a marked increase in the production of paper and cellulose. For this reason we shall reduce exports of wood and make much better use of waste wood.

We shall expand the building material industry and the material base of construction work at a rapid rate. Above all, there will be an increase in the proportion of products which are of considerable importance for progressive technology and for higher productivity of

labour in the building industry. I have in mind the non-classical building materials, pre-fabricated panels, housing installation cores, modern water sewage and heating systems and other equipment. This will enable us to make changes in the structure of the material base of the building industry. Meanwhile we shall pay constant attention to the production of the classical materials, the lack of which continually retards the development of building production. We intend to build new cement works, brick works, plants for the production of silicate raw materials and ceramics. We are aware that we have still not fully solved many problems in the expansion of the material base for the building industry. The requirements of our building industry are gradually becoming clearer and we must see to their full coverage, both by expanding our production and by improved cooperation with the socialist countries.

We shall expand production of consumer goods in keeping with the programme of raising the standard of living. We shall proceed to modernize a number of branches, particularly in the textile, clothing and footwear industries, although the speed of modernization must be subordinate to our actual possibilities. We intend to increase production in the textile industry by one quarter, and in particular we shall renovate and expand the production of knitted goods. We shall also modernize the cotton spinning mills by introducing highly productive spindleless spinning machines. In wool weaving we shall increase the proportion of automatic looms to two-thirds. Development of the production of synthetic fibres, which we have already mentioned, will make it possible considerably to raise their share in the consumption of textile raw materials.

In the leather processing and footwear industry we shall increase footwear production by 25 per cent up to 1975; meanwhile we shall give special priority to the production of footwear from porous plastic materials.

In the glass and ceramics industry main attention will be paid to fully covering the needs of housing construction, to eliminating the shortage of glass containers for the food and pharmaceutical industry, to covering the rapidly growing requirements of the motor-industry and to increasing the production of glass fibres. Tasks will also multiply in the production of utility glass, ceramics and porcelain, both for the needs of the home and the foreign markets.

The development of our economy will also place considerable demands in the Fifth Five-Year Plan on all branches of transport. Great tasks will fall especially to road transport, as it will have to cope

with the greater part of the increase in goods transport. For this reason we are planning a supply of 60,000 trucks and 10,000 buses. It is equally essential to ensure adequate supplies of spare parts and repair shops capacity.

We shall continue building the motorway, reconstructing roads and municipal communications. We shall expend altogether nearly 18,000 million crowns on this work. Although this is quite a considerable sum, the expected development of motoring will cause a number of difficulties which cannot be fully dealt with in this Five-Year Plan. It is all the more necessary to make the most economic use of invested means, and particularly to improve the quality of construction and repair work of the roads. We shall place great importance on municipal transport, mainly in Prague, both on surface transport and on the building of the Underground.

By 1975 we shall reduce the proportion of steam traction in railway transport to 2 per cent of the volume of transport and in this way consumption of solid fuel will drop to one eighth of last year's requirements. The railways will receive new electric and Diesel locomotives, as well as suburban and electrical motor units. We shall expend considerable means on raising the capacity of the tracks and on building up the East Slovakian re-loading stations.

The increasing supplies of crude oil and natural gas from the Soviet Union require the proportionate expansion of the pipe-line carrying these substrates.

We shall renovate and supplement air transport with new types of planes from the Soviet Union.

We shall also modernize the shipping fleet and the river transport harbours.

Here I have only given some basic information on our intentions in the sphere of transport. Their overall size can perhaps best be illustrated by the total amount of estimated investments for the development and renovation of the whole of our transport system — it amounts to 63,000 million crowns.

In communications we shall primarily expand the automation of the trunk and inter-State telephone network. The production of modern equipment will substantially help to boost the standard of the telephone service.

In 1973 the television will start colour transmissions. We shall continue building television studios in Prague and Bratislava, and the transmitting and re-translating network for the 2nd TV programme and for colour transmission.

The level of agricultural production has had, and still has, a substantial influence on the advancement of our economy, on the rise in the living standard of the people. Perhaps it suffices to say that our agriculture ensures around 80 percent of food consumption.

It is the basic task of agriculture in the Fifth Five-Year Plan to reach a state in which we can cover the increase in consumption of basic foods from our own production, while at the same time improving the quality and composition of food. This requires raising agricultural production over the five years by at least 13—14 per cent and the marketable produce consigned to the State by 18—19 per cent.

There is only one way we can take to achieve these aims under our conditions — consistent and effective growth in the intensity of crop and animal production.

Above all, we need a substantial increase in the production of grain. We shall, therefore, expand as areas under grain up to 56 per cent of all arable land. During the five years we shall raise yields per hectare by an average of at least four quintals per hectare. In this way we shall achieve a harvest in 1975 of 8.9 million tons of grain, which is roughly 1.7 million tons more than in 1970. However, expansion of grain production must not be at the expense of the production of industrial root crops.

In animal production we shall concentrate our attention on cattle rearing, on increasing the number and utility value of cows, and on increasing milk production. We count with raising the State purchase of slaughter cattle by around 18 per cent and milk by 21 per cent, so as to improve supplies to the population. Similar exacting tasks await us in the other spheres of animal production. We shall expand our own fodder supplies, we shall build more fodder producing factories, and improve breeding, zootechnical and veterinary care. In crop production we count with introducing complex lines and raising the capacity of individual systems of machines. As experience shows, the most effective harvesting machines can be made full use of only when they are used in groups. Only in large-scale organized areas is it economic to use the more powerful tractors of between 80 to 180 H. P., on which future large-scale production technology must be founded and which allows for the raising of productivity by three to five times that achieved with the tractors used today.

In animal production large-scale production technology will prevail completely, in the foreseeable future, in the production of pork, poultry and eggs. Large-scale production technology is also beginning to play an increasingly large role in cattle breeding. The present state in large-scale production equipment makes it possible to build plants in which a single person can look after 250 to 800 head of cattle when feeding

for slaughter, 40 to 50 or even more cows, 2,000 to 2,500 pigs and 5,000 to 10,000 hens.

The broader application of progressive large-scale production technology in the decisive sectors of agricultural production nowadays comes up against the limitations, which ensue from the present size of agricultural enterprises and from the organization of production.

Our experience and the experiences of other socialist countries show that the most suitable way towards specialization and concentration is the development of cooperative relationships. In practice there has already been a shift to the building of joint enterprises particularly in the production of eggs, pork and poultry for table, and this is being done at a high level of concentration. Today, we can no longer get by with cooperation restricted only to some sectors of animal production. One of the most significant forms will be the cooperation of associated agricultural enterprises, which will organize and expand in a planned manner both crop and animal production, as well as other work belonging to the sphere of technological services. Meanwhile there will be a gradual reconstruction of the entire material—technological base of our socialist agriculture.

Understandably, this is a long-term process, whose realization in stages will influence the future advancement of agriculture to a decisive degree. We shall carry out these intentions prudently and purposefully; we shall consistently heed the principle of voluntariness and economic suitability and shall respect the principles of cooperative ownership. We can execute these intentions according to the possibilities of supplies of production means and the necessary investments.

Modern production technology requires a corresponding system of management. It must be adjusted so that it gives maximum encouragement to the concentration of production, to cooperation and specialization.

Responsibility for the development of agricultural production does not depend only on agriculture but also, on the main supplier branches, on the engineering, chemical and building industries. We shall take measures so that these branches, in conjunction with the necessary imports, will gradually be able to meet the justified requirements of agriculture, both as regards quantity and quality of machinery, spare parts, artificial fertilizers and chemical preparations, and also as regards supplies of building work and material.

The application of large-scale production technology will be a great help in solving the problem of manpower in agriculture. It will also contribute to raising the cultural aspect of the work and this will

produce better conditions for winning over young people to work in agriculture.

During the coming ten to fifteen years our agriculture will have to face profound and fundamental changes. Government authorities and national committees at all levels must devote consistent attention to this most important socio-political change which will be taking place in the villages in the coming period.

The development of the food industry is logically bound up with the assumed rise in agricultural production. During this Five-Year Plan its production will increase by 18 per cent. This is not only a matter of quantitative indices but there must also be a rise in the quality of the food products; an expansion in their variety and improvement in the standard of the packaging of food for the consumer. Over recent years we have built a number of modern food plants: meat processing plants, breweries, sugar mills, dairies, poultry farms and the like. We must continue this construction work. We shall therefore invest 38 per cent more into this branch, during the Fifth Five-Year Plan, than in the years 1966—1970.

All these demanding tasks force us to seek new ways and means of coping with them successfully. We must markedly increase the productivity of labour, speed up the adjustment of production programmes, make more intensive use of production resources and raise all branches of our economy to a higher technical level.

Our chief assistant here can and must be the full utilization of scientific-technological findings in practice and the further expansion of science and technology. This is not a new task but its urgency has become acute, as comrade Husák emphasized.

Over the past five years a number of important innovations have emerged from research and have been introduced into industry. Such instances in industry are the new types of highly efficient machine tools, moulding, textile and other machinery, the introduction of the production of semi-conductors and some computer equipment, new technological processes and products in chemistry, and an increased utilization of wood materials. Research work has helped raise the effectivity of crop and animal production in agriculture and the mechanization of farm work. In some cases we have made a suitable combination of the results of our own research and purchased licences.

The extent of the scientific research base — we expend on it 3.6 per cent of the national income — is comparable with the industrially advanced countries. There are 146,000 persons employed in it, 12,500 of them scientific workers. The composition of the scientific research

base is such that it helps to level up the disproportions between the Slovak and the Czech Socialist Republics.

Nevertheless, we still have a number of unsolved problems in the further expansion of science and technology and especially in the introduction of their results into practice. Scientific research and development work constantly suffer from great dispersion and almost, sometimes, the atomization of forces and means, even to a greater degree than in production. Of late we have endeavoured to narrow down the number of selected State programmes of research and technological development, in such a way as to make these programmes link up effectively with the decisive intentions of the economy in the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Even so, as experience has shown, this concentration is still not enough. And this is unfavourably reflected both in the quality and in the time taken in producing solutions. We shall therefore continue with this concentration, making stricter selection of the decisive workplaces where we shall concentrate the creative potential of scientific workers. The work of analytical forecasting on which we have already made a start, will make its own contribution to greater stability in our scientific technological aims.

The new quality and the exacting nature of the tasks induce us to combine our forces with the forces of the other socialist countries. Indeed, in the Soviet Union alone such an extensive scientific research base has been built up that it represents almost one quarter of all the science and research in the world. In the process of the integration of socialist science it is necessary to shift from mere coordination of creative plans between scientific and research institutes, which is still predominant, to a gradual forming of combined creative teams and to the joint solution of scientific and technological problems. The combining of forces in this sphere should progress more rapidly and should precede the combining of forces in production.

Not all the work of our scientific and research institutes is really worthy of the name or in keeping with the high demands made on this activity. The cause lies mainly in the lack of qualifications and sense of responsibility of some scientists. We must therefore make greater demands on their selection and training.

Not only the process of scientific research but also its management must have an entirely creative character. It is to their detriment if executive workers stop growing in their field and stop sharing in creative activity; if they give way to self-satisfaction and false contentment. All the more shall we give full support to those executive and creative workers in science and technology who take upon them-

selves the risk of battle for what is new and, in defiance of many difficulties, create and assert important work.

The gravest problem in our scientific technological work is still its practical application. It is our aim to establish firm links between science and production through the whole process of scientific technological changes. Barriers still exist between research, development and production, which retard the application of the results of science in production. It proves useful in practice when research and scientific workers have personal contact with engineers and workers in production, and when their ideas can then be studied from all aspects. There also exists a logical division of work in technological development, and it is not reasonable to expect that the scientific worker himself will carry his ideas right into production; this is where engineers and workers also have their part to play. The whole process of scientific-technological transformation must be smooth and bilateral, and it must rest on good harmony between the workers in their separate spheres.

Whenever there is disharmony between science and production, the cause is not, usually, on one side only. There can be no excuses, not even for the production enterprises and factories, which sometimes manifest inflexibility and not infrequently downright conservatism towards technological innovations. The strengthening of the role of scientific technological change will inevitably be reflected also in the organizational structure and the content of the work of enterprises. Development and rationalization sectors, pilot plants, laboratories and testing centres are assuming increasing importance. The same role falls also to design institutes, investment organizations, and consultative and engineering services. These sectors must become direct focal points of the struggle for asserting scientific technological innovations.

Likewise, in the sphere of research, in the recent past, reliance was placed on the miraculous effect of economic instruments. Of course we are in favour of scientific technological efforts being suitably motivated and recompensed and of enterprises which introduce innovations also benefitting from it. In the same way, enterprises which are incapable of bringing their products up to date and are lagging behind technologically, should get into trouble and suffer economically.

It was often required of research institutes that they pay their way. As this was sometimes not correctly understood or thought out, certain institutes became literally commercialized — they made easy money through regular services but at the same time neglected their basic social mission.

In the assertion of scientific technological progress a struggle is

underway between the old and the new, in which there are a number of initial disadvantages on the side of the new, and on the side of the old a persistence of existing routines. Executives of the whole managerial sphere must demonstrate here their social responsibility and be the motor force of technological progress: they must wage an energetic struggle for the application of science and technology not only through material interests but through purposeful planned procedure.

On the basis of experience gained we can now consider possibilities of making the management of scientific-technological development more effective. We do not want to deal merely with the specific questions of management of science and technology, but also with the activation of all managerial and planning work — at all levels and spheres — towards technological progress. State bodies will gradually discuss the necessary measures and strive to see that science and technology become the major instrument for the intensification of economic development.

The basic prerequisite of economic development in the Fifth Five-Year Plan and of dynamic growth in the years to come will be capital construction. It is activity of tremendous responsibility in which not only immense amounts of money are involved, but these at the same time determine development for a long period to come.

The disavowal of the basic principles of planned management in 1968 and 1969 had a very harmful impact on this very sphere. There was a disproportionate increase in the number of projects under construction, in budgetary prices and time limits of construction, and a general slackening in the responsibility and discipline of participants in capital construction.

The restoration of planned management can be seen in the first results of the structural regulation of invested means and in the halting of the growth of the number of unfinished projects. Both the present state of affairs and the aims which we are setting ourselves prove that these results may be regarded only as the first step towards rectification.

In fixing the volume of construction in the Fifth Five-Year Plan we proceed from the principle of stabilizing the amount of investments on the present level. We must see to it that there is harmony between the requirements of capital construction and production possibilities, between material and financial resources. We are considering a 29—30 per cent share for investments in the gross national income.

This means that in the Fifth Five-Year Plan we shall be investing into the national economy 520,000 million crowns, which is 35 to 37 per

cent more than in the previous Five-Year Plan. Further increase in this volume would be at the expense of the standard of living and the other requirements of society. Therefore it is not possible to give way to pressures for any increase in the volume of investments.

In the structural orientation of investments, the Draft Directives follow the safeguarding of the decisive requirements and proportions of the national economy. Therefore, to develop the decisive branches, the plan provides for increasing construction in the power and fuel industry by more than 70 per cent, in the building material industry by 86 per cent, in complex housing construction by 63 per cent, in transport and communications by 50 per cent; in the construction of the capital of Prague, an increase of approximately 85 per cent is envisaged. At the same time, we see to it that developmental programmes, modernization and reconstruction are guaranteed by investments, that facilitate the rationalization of production.

The exacting tasks of capital construction require improved quality of technical and economic preparation in investors' and designing organizations. Unfortunately, the greatest shortcomings appear in the drafting of plans for, and the launching of, the most extensive and most important projects. The consequences are then reaped in the process of construction: projects are altered, investments are additionally increased, not to speak of overdrawn budgets. The construction is delayed and the expected effectiveness is not forthcoming.

The causes of this state of affairs lie in the inadequate work of suppliers' and investors' designing organizations. We are therefore preparing a change in the forms of material incentives for designing organizations so that they are orientated towards lowering budgetary costs while making progressive solutions, and not, as hitherto, towards a share in overall budgetary costs of the project. An expert analysis of investments at all levels of management must also help this aim more effectively.

It is not possible to make concessions to the requirement that every projected investment must pursue economic and technological progress and always be based on duly justified economic calculations. We shall demand consistently that binding technological and economic parameters and standards are observed. The active participation of suppliers is necessary already in the preparatory stage, so as to ensure continuity of construction from the very beginning.

The necessary increase in the volume of building works must be achieved in the first place by increased labour productivity. Modernization of building technology and techniques, a higher standard of management at all levels, greater capacity for finishing work, the introduction of order into material and technical supplies and the

improvement of working and technological discipline also serve this aim. Only in this way is it possible to speed up construction and, at the same time, increase the quality of the commissioned projects.

The Draft Directives also provide for rapid development of the production of building materials, both in the silicate industry and in other branches.

In view of the fact that there is high concentration of construction in certain regions — the North Bohemian region, the capital of Prague, the West Slovakian region and the capital of Slovakia, Bratislava — the fulfilment of our investment plans is conditioned by extensive shifts of building capacities. We are convinced that we shall find the necessary understanding not only on the part of executives, but, above all, on the part of the production workers and technicians, who will be separated from their families, working where the Republic needs them.

Capital construction is one of the most complex spheres of economic development. Every project is the point of intersection of the activities of investors, designers, suppliers and state bodies. Their coordinated work, the consistent application of nation-wide interests, strict discipline and the fulfilment of all obligations condition the success of each project and its overall planned intentions.

Comrades,

It is impossible to imagine the fulfilment of the economic intentions of the Fifth Five-Year Plan without the more intensive incorporation of our economy into the international division of labour. An expression of this is the rapid growth of our external economic relations. The foreign trade turnover will increase by 38 per cent, while the national income will rise by approximately 28 per cent.

A decisive role will fall to our economic relations with the socialist countries, in the first place with the USSR; the turnover of our trade with that country will rise by nearly 45 per cent.

The fact that the Draft Directives rely on the results of coordination of plans with the countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, as well as on long-term trade agreements, is one of the most important guarantees of the stability of our economic development in the years ahead.

As I have indicated before, cooperation, especially with the Soviet Union, is of paramount importance for our external economic relations. On it we build our developmental intentions, progressive structural changes and our effort to raise the overall effectiveness of the

economy. In our natural and economic conditions — marked as they are by limited possibilities of further development of power and raw material resources and a relatively narrow market — the materialization of these intentions would not be possible without intensified integration with the Soviet economy, without the international approach of the USSR towards the solution of the vital economic problems of the other socialist countries. At a time when capitalist monopolies are continuing their efforts to get control over raw material resources in the whole world, the Soviet Union is enabling Czechoslovakia and the other CMEA countries to participate in developing the natural riches of the USSR and provides long-term guarantees for supplies of raw materials vitally important for us. Cooperation with the USSR creates conditions and provides the impetus for raising the effectiveness of our processing industry on the basis of its technological development and the introduction of mass production. Without the help of the Soviet Union we would not be able to solve efficiently and effectively the problems which the process of scientific-technological revolution is urgently facing us, or to realize such investment projects as the development of nuclear power generation, an increased production of computers and their use, colour television or the construction of the underground railway in Prague.

It is fortunate for our working people and our Republic that it linked its fate and can continue to link its future prospects and hopes with the swift development of production, science, technology and culture of the Soviet Union, the socialist big power which, historically speaking, is the young socio-economic entity that through its tempo of development and its technological go-aheadness is heralding the socialist future of humanity.

The vital importance of cooperation with the socialist countries, especially the USSR can be seen in practically all decisive sectors of our economic life. Between 1971 and 1975, nearly 90 per cent of the increment of primary power resources will be covered by imports, the largest proportion of which will be part of our economic cooperation with the USSR. The import of oil from the Soviet Union will increase roughly by two-thirds in the mentioned period, the import of natural gas will be roughly three-fold; this fuel will thus occupy an important place in our fuel and power balance sheet. An important role in this will be played by the transit pipe-line for carrying Soviet natural gas across the territory of Czechoslovakia to the GDR and other European countries. Its construction is the largest project of this Five-Year plan. Part of the increase in our primary power resources will also be

covered by higher imports of coal from Poland and electricity from Rumania.

Supplies of pellets and concentrates from the USSR will among other things help raise the effectiveness of ferrous metallurgy. A decisive part of the required raw materials which are in short supply, such as non-ferrous metals, will be covered on the basis of long-term agreements on economic cooperation with the socialist countries, especially with the USSR, Poland and Yugoslavia.

Engineering products will represent the most dynamic sector of trade with the socialist countries. In comparison with the period 1966—1970, engineering exports will increase by 55 per cent and imports by 65 per cent. The accent will be on certain developmental branches. For example, multilateral cooperation in computing will make it possible within five years to increase the turnover of these products with the other CMEA countries roughly eight times. The turnover in the passenger cars and lorries category, as well as building and road-building machines will increase roughly by 80 per cent.

Bilateral cooperation with the CMEA countries in selected sectors, such as cooperation with the USSR in the production of equipment for nuclear power stations, cooperation with the GDR in producing complex machine systems, or agreements with Bulgaria on cooperation in the production of lorries, also hold an important place.

The development of the chemical industry is likewise based on close cooperation with the USSR, the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic.

We take an active part in CMEA bodies in the elaboration of a general programme of socialist integration.

Specific ministries and sectoral managements must also pay more consistent attention to the practical solution of this task. The task laid down by the 24th Congress of Soviet communists — of working out measures that will enhance the interests of all links of the economic system in the development of long-term economic relations with the socialist countries — assumes even greater urgency under our conditions.

Along with the above-mentioned economic relations with the socialist countries we intend to continue the expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation with capitalist and developing countries, on the basis of mutual advantage. It is up to the governments, commercial and industrial circles in those countries to show equal interest in such development.

Raising the effectiveness of social production and the growth of the standard of living of the population requires enhancing the organic

unity and complexity of the sectorial and regional development of the national economy. The distribution of the production forces, as envisaged in the Five-Year Plan, respects the principles of a unified economic policy for the entire Federation and makes rational use of the natural and economic conditions of both national republics.

The efforts engendered by the CPCz for a consistent implementation of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy has brought important success to the economy. Over the past twenty years, the share of Slovakia in state-wide industrial production rose from 14 per cent to nearly 24 per cent. The industrial development of Slovakia has thus provided an important contribution towards extending and modernizing the industrial potential of the whole State.

The directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan lay down that the social product created in the Czech Socialist Republic is to grow by 24 per cent and in the Slovak Socialist Republic by 41 per cent. We take into consideration the fact that the economic activity of the population of productive age in the CSR cannot be further raised. In Slovakia, however, the employment rate can still be increased, although resources are limited even there; in the first place it is possible to reckon with greater employment of women.

These are the aspects from which the Directives proceed in determining the growth and structure of industrial and agricultural production in both republics.

Towards the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, Slovakia will reach nearly the same rate of labour productivity per one worker in the production sphere as in the CSR. The level of personal and social consumption will also be further equalized, while their objective specific natures will be respected.

The principle that economic levelling up rests in the first place in providing the equal conditions for the creation of national income, will also be valid in the future.

The problems of individual areas are now coming to the fore more urgently than in the past.

We consider first place goes to a speedy solution to the basic problems of life in the capital of Prague, especially housing, transport and services. We shall allocate nearly 40,000 million crowns to the construction and development of Prague. This will make it possible to build some 40,000 flats, to speed up the construction of the underground railway and to put the first line of the underground into operation during this Five-Year Plan period, also to make substantial progress in the construction and reconstruction of the transport network. Funds are being increased to expand the network of shops, for which we are planning to build two big department stores, and to

reconstruct and modernize the building and housing fund, including the maintenance of historical buildings. Considerable amounts are also being allocated to the construction of projects of civic and technical amenities, which will create conditions for a rapid development of the capital after 1975 as well.

The implementation of this exacting programme makes it necessary to concentrate building capacities from the entire State in Prague. On the other hand, this requires that the managing bodies of the capital pay increased attention to the effective utilization of local resources and ensure good preparation and organization of work with maximum thrift.

The construction of the capital of Slovakia — Bratislava — also requires a purposeful approach, which will prevent conflict in its future development.

Of the industrial agglomerations with concentrated capital construction, increased attention will have to be given to the North Bohemian region, especially those parts of it which are of decisive importance for the development of the fuel and power base. An exceptionally exacting task is the provision of sufficient building capacity for the construction of power plants and for the construction of housing and civic projects.

In the Fifth Five-Year Plan, we reckon with adequate means for further development of the border districts of the Czech Socialist Republic and selected districts of Eastern and Southern Slovakia.

If we want to make effective use of the resources of the two national republics and individual areas, regional problems must be given permanent care not only by national, but also federal bodies; the responsibility of national committees for the solution of these problems primarily in keeping with the interests of the whole of society must be increased.

Comrades,

Our Communist Party has always endeavoured to create conditions for permanent growth in the living standard of the population that would be based on economic results. The Draft Directives also provide for such solutions as will contribute to a balanced development of all components of the living standard and to a strengthening of the life-long certainties of the population.

We shall continue to pursue the policy of growth of earnings in proportion to our economic results, to guarantee a steady level in the cost of living while maintaining stability in the level of retail prices, so that the growth of nominal incomes will in principle be equal to the growth of real incomes. We shall continue to provide free services on

their present existent level and to improve social security and mother-and-child care.

We reckon that economic development, which above all depends on a permanent growth in the social productivity of labour, will make it possible for the real incomes of the population, comprising, in particular, remuneration for work, pensions and sickness benefits, to rise by roughly 5 per cent per year.

The total volume of wages in the Fifth Five-Year Plan period will increase by roughly 30,000—32,000 million crowns; average nominal monthly wages of workers and employees will, by the end of the Five-Year Plan period, rise to about 2,300 crowns. The chief principle, also in future, will be remuneration according to work and a reinforcing of the interdependence of output and earnings.

In the sphere of the financial incomes of the population, a measure of exceptional political and economic impact will be the gradual reconstruction of the system of basic wages. Every crown paid out must be based on socially useful labour; efficient, initiative-capable, stable workers must be markedly distinguished from those who do not fulfil their tasks. We must seek much more resolutely to eliminate elements of spontaneity, disorder and unhealthy egalitarianism in remuneration. We shall give full support to leading executives who consistently apply order in the field of remuneration and standardization of work, who justly evaluate the results of work attained by individuals and working teams.

The ties between society and the individual must stem from the life-long social prospects of working people. Apart from developing the system of incentives for those who are participating in the working process at present, we must, therefore, pay considerable attention to the young oncoming generation as well as to those, who have already fulfilled their tasks in relation to society.

Our efforts in social policy will be aimed at creating conditions so that the living standard of persons who cannot take part in the working process will grow proportionately with the national income.

At the centre of attention will be the care of mothers and families with children and the further development of the population. Since the war, Czechoslovakia has become one of the last-ranking countries in birth-rate in Europe. We therefore intend, in the course of the Fifth Five-Year Plan period, to extend social support for families with children. We want to create better conditions for families in the first period after the birth of the child through the further gradual extension of maternity benefits, extension of the number of places in crèches, and by improving the standard of services; through this, we want to achieve the position that women will be able to choose

between temporarily caring for children at home, or returning to work. We are also considering gradually raising the level of family allowances, especially for the second and third child; families with children will be effectively kept in mind in other respects as well.

Of course, financial assistance alone would not be sufficient. It is necessary for all who are responsible for housing construction, the development of services, the production of goods for children, etc., that they bear always in mind that by fulfilling their tasks well and at high-standard, they are helping to resolve this important social problem. At the same time, it will be necessary to implement certain measures to improve the social and working conditions of employed women.

Alongside further improving material conditions for families with several children, our efforts will be aimed at giving adequate social esteem, recognition and respect to motherhood and parentage in general.

At present, we are preparing and want gradually to introduce such a pension system as will eliminate unjustified disparities in the pension scheme. We shall deal with the problems of pensioners drawing their pensions on the basis of old scales, where the need for an adjustment is most pressing. The planned adjustment must also show more appreciation for life-long work merits. The intended system must, at the same time, create prerequisites for a gradual adjustment of the pensions to the growth in the living standard of the working population. This will also strengthen confidence in a just appraisal of life-long work.

The overall development of the incomes of the population must naturally be matched with the supply of goods and services.

The Directives envisage that *per capita* consumption of food-stuffs will reach a level close to the quantities recommended according to principles of correct nutrition. In meat and meat products, it will reach roughly 78 kg by the end of the Five-Year Plan period as compared with almost 72 kg last year; we also expect an increase in the consumption of milk, milk products, eggs, vegetables and fruit.

Important changes will also occur in the structure of industrial goods consumption. The changes will be most strongly reflected in:

- the substantial growth of motorization and consequent demand for goods and services directly related to the use of passenger cars, whose sales will roughly double by 1975;

- the development of investments and the modernization of the housing fund, households and recreation facilities, as well as related demands on the work of craftsmen, repairs and maintenance. Sales of building material to the population will increase by one half;

— the gradual transition of households from the use of coal to more refined forms of energy, especially for heating, warming water and cooking.

The provision of a suitable range of goods will become more difficult and more complicated every year. In view of the fact that the furnishing of our households has on the average reached a relatively high level, future sales of household equipment will primarily depend on the extension of its assortment, on its renewal and enrichment by technically and aesthetically more perfect products.

Improvement of the situation on the market requires that both production and trade introduce stricter care for the quality of goods, that they eliminate shortages of various goods of daily use and react more flexibly to changes in consumers' demands.

The satisfaction of customers will be promoted by the new construction and modernization of the network of shops, especially in the big cities. This will naturally also improve the working conditions of employees in State and cooperative shops.

Great emphasis must also be placed on improving the quality and structure of services for the population. Their range in this Five-Year Plan period will grow by 25 to 30 per cent, while services related to motorism will rise by one half. A great role in the improvement of the level of services is played by small-scale socialist undertakings, whether operated by national committees or producer cooperatives.

The population's contentedness with laundries, cleaners, repair and other service shops, just as its contentment with the cleanliness of houses and towns depends on the good organization, speed and quality of work of these undertakings. The main task of local economy enterprises and producer cooperatives is to provide services, repair and maintenance work, and not to engage, in place of this, in the serial production of ordinary consumer goods or in unhealthy cooperation with centrally-directed industry. We expect them to make such products as can really enrich the assortment of goods produced by State industry. National committees and the bodies of producer cooperatives should give much greater care to the growth of the productivity of labour and real thrift throughout this extensive sector.

We aim for the growing satisfaction of material needs to be accompanied in the Fifth Five-Year Plan period by a corresponding overall improvement in the living environment and the development of culture and education. We shall allocate considerable sums for investments into housing, comprehensive amenities for towns and villages, the further development of education, the health services, culture and the development of passenger transport. Investments into these branches will be the most rapidly growing component in the use of the national income.

In spite of this, it will not be possible to cope with all the needs which have accumulated over the years.

From the point of view of social urgency, the first place is, of course, held by housing construction. Investment means being allocated to total housing construction, amount to some 90,000 million crowns, i. e. 67 per cent more than in the preceding five years. At least, 500 thousand new flats built under all schemes will be put in service, substantial improvement will be made in providing housing centres with shopping, health and other amenities. Provided that all the relevant bodies take consistent technical and organizational measures to see that housing construction proceeds according to plan, especially as regards expenditure, it is realistically possible to exceed the at present contemplated volume of half a million flats. This makes it necessary, sufficiently in advance, to ensure town planning and designs for the new constructions. Smooth-running housing construction also depends on ensuring new resources of drinking water, the expansion of the water-mains and sewage network, thermal power-plants, the distribution of power and gas. It is precisely shortcomings in this respect which hinder housing construction most. We therefore require all State and economic bodies to try to eliminate all these obstacles with initiative.

Problems calling for our attention with increasing urgency are those concerning living environments. By his work and the development of civilization, man alters and deforms natural environments without always respecting living conditions and the laws which condition a harmonious development. An important criterion for the implementation of every technical project, every new technology and investment in general must therefore in future always be a thorough assessment of what positive, but also negative, consequences they can have for the life of man and whether the risk involved is acceptable and whether the price is not higher than the value obtained. In this context, it must be consistently required that effective use be made of material as well as financial resources allocated to these purposes by the State plan for national committees and enterprises. In many cases, it is a question of small improvements which can effectively and rapidly contribute especially to improving working environments.

One of the most serious problems in the coming years will be to ensure a sufficient amount of water. The water economy sector must give priority to the problem of supplying industrial enterprises and the population, to expanding and protecting all available resources and promoting sanitary water economy projects. At the same time we shall also carry on with the programme of the territorial flood protection scheme and of improving the purity of waters.

Naturally not all the problems of the living environment will be settled in this Five-Year Plan period. However, we want to ensure that new, especially industrial, constructions should at least not worsen the living environment. It is a matter for the long-term plan how these questions should be solved with more long-term perspective.

The entire sphere of social consumption places great demands on investments, on financial means and working resources. The volume of services and products provided to the population free of charge in health services, culture, education and other branches of social consumption and the volume of expenditure on social security had in 1970 reached more than 70,000 million crowns, i. e. 5,000 crowns per head of the population per year. We shall also in future guarantee the range of products and services granted free of charge. In the coming period, we shall concentrate above all on solving qualitative problems in these fields.

In education we are planning construction which will help reduce staggered school hours in basic schools and modernize teaching. We shall also start constructing new institutes of higher learning. School catering, accommodation in youth homes, care for pupils at afterschool centres and clubs will also be extended.

We shall give greater attention in general to the problems and needs of our entire younger generation, its correct political and specialized training and education and its effective integration into all branches of our economic and social life; we shall therefore improve the system of vocational guidance, thereby improving systematic preparation for the choice of profession.

In the field of culture, funds will be concentrated above all on facilities which serve our society as a whole. Above all, we shall therefore continue to build television and radio studios and facilities.

The number of beds available in health service and social institutions will be increased. A foremost task will be to strengthen and improve, in an all-round manner, out-patient care and to introduce order into supplies for the health sector.

We also have in mind an improvement in conditions for mass physical training, sports, recreation and tourism, by making better use of the existing facilities as well as by building new ones; in this respect, it will also be necessary to take advantage of the possibilities offered by self-help on the part of citizens and to pool the funds of physical training organizations, national committees and enterprises. We want to create sufficient opportunities for our young people to make proper use of their leisure-time and to contribute to their better

physical fitness. We consider it an important task to organize care for top-performance sports on modern principles and to raise our State sports representation to a new level.

The Draft Directives for the Fifth Five-Year Plan show that the Party is more and more concentrating on making sure that the existing material and technological base, and the further development of the forces of production and economic growth may serve even better to benefit the people, and develop a rich and many-sided socialist life.

It is on this basis that working people will convince themselves of the advantages of socialism and link their work and their life with socialist ideals. At the same time, a higher material and cultural standard is of productive importance: the personality of working people develops and their interest in the growth of socialist production intensifies. Economic and social development support one another, one is the prerequisite of the other.

The aims of our economy are derived from the natural needs of the working man, of socialist society. Their ever better satisfaction at the same time fulfils the purpose of our economic efforts.

Comrades,

The gravity of the main aim and of the chief intentions of the economic policy of the Party for the next period requires — when compared with the present state — a much more demanding approach to the management of the economy. The words spoken by comrade Brezhnev from the platform of the 24th Congress of the CPSU that "the point at issue is, basically, how best to organize the activity of society for speeding up economic and social development, how to ensure the fullest use of existing possibilities, how to unite even more closely the hundreds of thousands of teams and the millions of working people around the main goals of Party policy", are valid for us, too.

Also in future the Central Committee of the Party will devote constant attention to these problems. We have convinced ourselves from the experience of the past that this can not rest on a single campaign, a proclamation of so-called final solutions, but needs consistent work, closely combined with the solving of the actual problems of the development of the economy. In this, we shall resolutely proceed from the leading role of the Party, the ownership by the whole of society of the means of production and the role of the socialist State in the management of the economy by the State plan — in other words, from those principles on which the improved system of planned management, approved in 1965, were based. In view of our recent experience, we will return to the logics of these principles

and we will draw from the experience of the other socialist countries.

The application of the principles of the improved system of planned management had, in the initial period, the effect of livening up economic activity. But before the principles could be elaborated in the necessary contexts and be projected in concrete measures, extremely harmful and revisionist trends had infiltrated into its realization, particularly from the direction of the self-appointed section of the theoretical front.

The gradual infiltration of incorrect views and diversions from the original intentions was caused by lack of concept and purposefulness in the development of the economy, by theoretical lack of clarity and political unprincipledness, as well as by mistakes in personnel work.

The pre-January leadership of the Party at that time did not face up to the emergence of these deformations, but allowed the trends room to develop, not realizing in time that a revision of the concept of the improved system of management was a first step towards a much more far-reaching trend aiming at the basic revision of the whole Marxist-Leninist concept of the construction of socialism. The right-wing opportunists fully revealed their intentions in 1968 and during the following period up till the time when the new leadership of the Party took over in April 1969.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of socialism was to have been substituted by a so-called new model of "democratic socialism". In economic terms these concepts were expressed primarily, in an attack on the leading role of the Party, in the attempt to free economic management from economic decision-making; this, together with the abolishing of the influence of the Party on personnel policy in the economic sphere, was to have enabled the right-wingers to achieve their aims. In support of the theoretical justification of the destruction of the Leninist principle of the organization and management of a socialist economy, there was a wide-spread propaganda campaign in support of the new model of a socialist market economy, including the theory of the "industrial society", ending finally in the theory of convergence — the rapprochement of capitalism and socialism. This revisionist concept did, in fact, gainsay the effect of the law of planned proportionate development and plumped instead for the spontaneous effect of the market as the one regulator of the development of the economy. The plan was degraded to the position of a non-binding orientation directive. Practical attempts were made to separate the industry and central management spheres from one another and to create two independent ones, and thereby, from the very start, to violate the principle of democratic centralism and the administration

of a socialist economy. To this concept was added the attempts to transform socialist ownership into group ownership.

With the aid of slogans about the new position of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which was to play the role of an opposition to the Party and the socialist State and attempts to set up so-called Work's councils, the right-wingers endeavoured to create a completely new guiding political structure, which, in addition to other counter-revolutionary organizations, was to have become the basis for the transformation of the socialist power of the working class.

These intentions, supplemented by the slogan "Trade Unions without Communists" and "Works Councils without Communists" demonstrated only too clearly the aims of the right-wingers. At the same time, the revival of private enterprise was undertaken by all possible means, so that the petty-bourgeois element would also have its own economic base for corroding socialism.

The right-wing opportunist forces were thus step by step preparing and already gradually putting into practice their counter-revolutionary aims in the field of the national economy. These "theoreticians" who, in the 'fifties had stood on clearly defined dogmatic positions, thus went over, in the second half of the 'sixties, to positions of right-wing revisionism, and many of them found a place in the camp of anti-communism. This became very clearly manifest in the case of O. Šik, the main representative of these forces, who turned traitor, fled to the other side and, in his speeches, is now far exceeding the most reactionary bourgeois propagandists.

From the start, the new Party leadership has energetically concentrated on overcoming the consequences of revisionism and on consolidating the economy and its management. The leading role of the Party was restored, the principle of democratic centralism in the management of society and the economy was applied anew, central management has been strengthened, the role of the national economic plan has been restored, and adjustments were made in connection with the constitutional federative arrangement. Thus, basic conditions have been created for rational management at all levels.

Under our conditions, this conclusion is of special importance, for a great part of the workers in the State and economic apparatus are — often without realizing it — still living under the impression that their own practical role as managers and organizers in ensuring the tasks of the State plan can be replaced by a system of economic instruments and material incentives.

We therefore consider it essential to declare anew and unequivocally that no system, however good, can take the place of the direct organizational and managerial work of executives. Instruments will

never manage for us. The purpose of responsible management is to make use of the already existing instruments for achieving the required results and for suppressing undesirable actions. No instrument, but only the appropriate leading executive, can be made responsible for practical results.

On the basis of what we have already achieved in the national economy, it is possible to continue with the economic reform, which has been cleansed of its revisionist silt. In strengthening the role of the plan we also want to devote attention to material incentives for enterprises and work teams and guide them towards supporting the effective fulfilment of the intentions of the plan. This is not an affair of the moment but an exacting problem for the solution of which we must rope in the forces of both economic theory and practice.

Mention must also be made in this connection of the responsibility which falls to our economic science. This sphere was strongly affected by revisionist views. It is the task of the newly forming scientific teams to make a start as soon as possible on solving the complex theoretical and practical problems which condition our long-term economic development.

In harmony with the concrete preparations of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, we have stipulated a programme for future work at improving planned management. In the immediate future, we shall deal with the improvement of planning and the instruments of management which will be valid in the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

It will primarily be a matter of raising the scientific standard of the national economic plan, of improving and controlling the methods of its elaboration.

It is now necessary to improve the planning of capital investments and material and technical supplies for them, external economic relations and regional planning. By rapidly restoring the planning role of ministries and sectoral directorates, a state must be reached in which primarily the central plan's structure would be ensured entirely in the plans of the enterprises.

Current scientific findings and modern computer methods and equipment have made it possible for decision-making about important matters to be consistently based on scientific prognoses, on the reliable elaboration of various variants, of possible solutions and their social and economic consequences.

Closely linked with this is the further improvement of economic instruments, making use, to a suitable extent, of commodity-money relations.

Financial and credit relations must actively influence the effectivity of development both in the stage of formation and in the implementation of the plan, and create conditions for the desired harmonizing of material and financial processes. At the same time, they have to exert economic pressure on enterprises and economic production units for raising effectivity, and promote their interest in the good results of management. This must be helped by a rational adjustment of relations towards the State budget and the finance system. We cannot allow automatism in the granting of loans or in drawing from the financial means of the State.

Difficulties in the price sphere grew because of the ill-considered reconstruction of wholesale prices on January 1, 1967. Failure to cope with the consequences of this faulty step led, in the course of further developments, particularly in 1968 and 1969, under conditions of weak price control, to a spontaneous growth of wholesale prices and, in some branches of consumer goods, in retail prices as well. A number of enterprises gained undeserved resources by raising prices and this was reflected in an inproportionate growth in demands for investments.

In order to curtail further undesirable developments in prices, the Government has imposed a temporary ban on price increases. We know that a moratorium cannot be a long-term solution. At the same time, we are preparing a programme of gradual rectification. We want the price system to express socially necessary expenses, to promote technological progress, to suppress undesirable production and to support growth in the productivity of labour.

Central management of price development, the observance of price discipline and consistent control are the conditions for attempt to increase profits and the fulfilment of the plan which should not be realized by price and other speculations but by raising the productivity of labour and reducing production costs.

We shall strive for the price system to have a more effective influence on economic development, in keeping with the intentions of the State plan; we shall thoroughly weigh up every change and — as far as wholesale prices are concerned — prepare it in such a way as to ensure the necessary stability of the price level.

Measures taken for stabilizing the level of retail prices must have long-term validity.

The strengthening of working, technological and wage discipline, the removal of egalitarianism, the introduction of order into the norms of labour output, restoration of comparability between branches in classification of work and recompense for it, all require a reconstruction of the wage system. Its aim is to create conditions for a more consistent application of the socialist principle of remunera-

tion in harmony with the results of work done and help in placing manpower according to the intentions of the State plan.

Of course, the reconstruction of the wage system can fulfil its role only when it is accompanied by improvement of management within enterprises, and of the organization of production and work, if it leads to the uncovering of reserves within enterprises and if we at the same time manage to raise output norms to a substantially higher level.

With a view to the gravity of these measures, we shall put through the reconstruction of wages in stages. We shall first of all verify their principles in those selected enterprises which provide the necessary conditions.

The restoration of the principle of democratic centralism as the Leninist principle of management of the socialist economy does not proceed without conflict. The Party and the Government must exert considerable efforts — and this will be the case for some time yet — so as to overcome the harmful theories in the two spheres of economic management, the so-called central and enterprise management. The principle, that the system of management from top to bottom is integral and uninterrupted, must be asserted in managerial practice.

We are dealing with defining the position and function of various levels of management. Each level of management — the plant, enterprise, sectoral directorate and ministry — has its share of responsibility for compiling a realistic plan and for its fulfilment.

The process of integration now in progress in the economy demands a strengthening of the role of the intermediate links of management. At the same time, however, we do not envisage a general reorganization. On the contrary, we consider it more expedient to deal with forms of organization in a differentiated way and to make changes wherever conditions are ripe for them.

The effectivity of management is lessened by the present state in material and technological supplies. We are putting into practice some of the well-proved instruments of controlling the circulation of products. Their full functioning must be ensured by the central bodies, sectoral directorates and enterprise managements. We have restored the role of material balance-sheets, not only as an instrument for checking material relations in the plan but in some cases also as an instrument for the direct distribution of raw materials, materials and products. Wherever we are quite certain of the effect we are also introducing the so-called gestion system.

We shall insist upon tightening up the contractual securing of material and technological supplies and upon disciplined relations among enterprises. Enterprises and sectoral directorates must rely on market research and react flexibly to changes in the requirements of buyers.

The system of planned management as a whole can only be effective if it is carried right into intra-enterprise management, which will raise the Khozraschot incentive to achieve the stipulated results with a minimum expenditure of labour, material resources and investments.

Economizing within enterprises is generally given too little attention in this country. Enterprise and intra-enterprise khozraschot is not fulfilling its well-tried role in the basic form of enterprise management. Its role should be restored and its effectivity raised by the use of modern devices of management. We are urgently stressing this task to enterprises, sectoral directorates and ministries.

If we consider the intensification of the whole production process to be a fundamental task, then the content of managerial work at all levels must be complex socialist rationalization, which comprises not only the technological and economic aspects but also all-round care for the working people, their participation in management and in settling concrete problems of economic development. For this reason it is important to create in all economic activity, in production, in management and in administration, suitable conditions for its development and orientation in accomplishing the main tasks. In our economy there are reserves which can be quickly mobilized without large investment expenditure, but just by socialist rationalization.

On a State-wide level, we shall concentrate upon several selected programmes, primarily upon rationalization of the consumption of fuels and power, metals, handling, transport and storage processes, and upon the rationalization of the information systems. These programmes will be elaborated by the end of the third quarter of this year and relevant members of the Government will be directly responsible for their further elaboration in detail and fulfilment.

When enforcing complex rationalization we cannot get by without stressing demands on working and technological discipline, on keeping to working hours and the like. Without order in these — what one might call elementary — things there is no going further. It must also be promoted by the consistent application of economic legislation and its further perfecting.

A component of our managerial system is the control, carried out by State and economic bodies, by working people and their organizations.

Control must be based upon a thorough examination of the facts and the causes of shortcomings, and timely action in putting things right.

The system of people's control, which was seriously disrupted in

the past, is responsible to the Party and Government for seeing the control system works effectively, guards the interests of society, and sees to the good quality and timely accomplishment of tasks.

The success of the economic policy of the Party is inseparably linked with the quality of the leading cadres, their political maturity, ability to take decisions and sense of responsibility, with their skill in guiding work teams politically and professionally. Therefore, we wish to devote great attention to their selection, training and placing.

Leading executives can accomplish their exacting task only if they are closely linked with the Party, with its aims and its activity. They must master the latest methods and techniques of management. They are bound by their social function to personal initiative and to promoting it in working teams.

Of great significance is the raising of the political and professional maturity and authority of those leading staff members who are in direct contact with the workers. It is especially necessary to deal once more with the status and role of foremen.

The function of the leading executive often requires him to support the realization of such measures as are difficult and unpopular. During decision-making everything cannot always be clear in advance and managers must take responsibility and risk. Even so we cannot lower in any way the high demands placed upon leading cadres.

We have declared — and we do so again at this Congress — that we shall give full political support to agile and capable managers in their endeavours to raise the effectivity of enterprises and demands placed on the output of workers. Insufficient commitment, indolence, slackness and the incapability of leading personnel must be subject to sanctions as socially undesirable.

The report on activities, delivered by comrade Husák, expressed high appreciation of the working people's initiative which developed in support of the policy of the new Party leadership.

This is convincing proof of the true attitudes of our people towards the present policy of the Party and clear evidence as to who is the manager of this country. In developing initiative, in socialist emulation, the working people express their new attitude to work, to common ownership and to the socialist aims of our society.

It was not so long ago that some people were saying that our socialist emulation was dead and buried, were declaring it to be outmoded, to be something unsuitable for methods of modern manage-

ment. Experience proves exactly the reverse. We are witness to how the current of initiative of the whole people grows stronger every day and how every day gives birth to new deeds.

It is necessary to handle such wealth carefully. Nothing could harm us more in this respect than a formal approach towards emulation, initiative and innovation, for in its consequences this impairs the people's creative attitude to work. In this respect it is in place to recall that together with endeavours to exceed planned tasks, it is even more necessary to follow up criteria of economy, cutting down material costs, material input and raising the quality of products.

The growing initiative, inspired by the Party, with the active participation of trade union bodies and organizations and the support of leading economic executives, has this year grown into a broadly-based movement of the working people in honour of the 50th anniversary of the foundation of our Party and its 14th Congress.

In this connection we appreciate that the Central Council of Trade Unions and trade union organizations together with the organizing of pledges and emulation are also ensuring public control of their fulfilment. Evidence of this are the hundreds of reports on pledges of honour having been fulfilled, which are currently reaching the Central Committee and our 14th Congress.

Comrades,

The Directives of the 14th Congress of the Party on the Fifth Five-Year Plan will be the basic line for economic development in the coming period. In substance they clearly document the purposeful activity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, aimed at a rich life for man and his all-round development. Their fulfilment will be of great significance not only for our own lives — the contemporary participants — but also for those of the coming generations.

In this respect a great amount of hard and responsible work still awaits us. In the first place, we must ensure the finalization of the draft for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, in keeping with the conclusions of the 14th Congress, so that by the end of the year it may be submitted to the supreme Party and legislative bodies for approval. This will be no simple matter. Through the close and fruitful cooperation of the central and national bodies, sectoral directorates, enterprises and national committees, it is essential to settle so far unsolved problems, to transform the Five-Year Plan into concrete, mutually harmonized tasks for enterprises and to create all-round conditions for their accomplishment.

The tasks of the Party's economic policy in the next period will

be fulfilled if the endeavours of the Party are successfully combined with the knowledge and active work of all upright people in this country, who have always proved their patriotism and determination to build a better, advanced socialist society by concrete and self-sacrificing work.

Comrades,

Judge for yourselves the work already done, judge the correctness of the prospects laid before you!

Allow me to express my profound conviction that under the leadership of our Communist Party we shall fulfil the tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan successfully.

L. I. Brezhnev,
General Secretary of the CPSU
and the Leader of the CPSU Delegation

SPEECH OF WELCOME

Dear Czechoslovak friends!
Comrades!

For communists each fraternal Party congress is a great and in many respects instructive event. But the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has undoubtedly an especially considerable part to play in the life of your Party and country, and in the life of our whole socialist community and the world communist movement.

This Congress marks the completion of a very serious and important stage in the history of socialist Czechoslovakia. It may rightly be called a Congress of victory over the enemies of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, a Congress of the triumph of socialism. Rallying round itself millions of working people, your Party has reached its 14th Congress carrying high aloft the militant banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of socialist internationalism.

Your Congress coincides with an anniversary which we all cherish. It is 50 years since the establishment of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the time-tested and militant Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class and of all the working people of the Czech Lands and Slovakia. These were years of selfless and heroic struggle on the part of the communists, the best sons and daughters of their people, for their country's freedom and happiness, for socialism. A glorious and militant path has been travelled, in which your Party and all the patriots of your country can take pride.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on behalf of millions of Soviet communists, we convey to you, dear comrade delegates, and through you to all the communists of Czechoslovakia, our most heartfelt greetings on this outstanding

anniversary. From the bottom of our hearts we wish you further great successes in your effort to attain the full flourishing of your socialist State, further improvements in the life of its peoples, and the promotion of the common cause of all communists — the great cause of peace, freedom and socialism!

We, representatives of the CPSU, are grateful for the CC of the CPCz's invitation and are happy to take part in the work of your Congress. Soviet communists have profound respect for their Czechoslovak brothers and comrades-in-arms. The presence of Party delegations at each other's congresses is a manifestation of the solid friendship linking our Parties and peoples.

Many pages in the history of the militant brotherhood of the Czechoslovak and Soviet communists are connected with the name of V. I. Lenin. Even before the Great October Revolution Lenin maintained active relations with leading Czech and Slovak personalities. He warmly welcomed the birth of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Lenin's comradely advice, and his meetings with Bohumír Šmeral, Antonín Zápotocký, Karel Krelbich and other Czechoslovak communists played an historic part in moulding the CPCz, the militant vanguard of the Czechoslovak working class.

Our country's communists and all the Soviet people honour the memory of the men who first built your Party. Like you all we cherish the name comrade of Klement Gottwald, an outstanding leader of the Czechoslovak and world communist movement, who did so much to develop and strengthen friendship between the Soviet and the Czechoslovak peoples.

Your Party's history is, above all, a history of the heroism of the communists, who headed the working people's struggle for the country's true freedom and independence. During the bitter Munich period, it was indeed the Communist Party which not only wrathfully branded that ignominious deal but also indicated the only right way to safeguard Czechoslovakia's independence, namely resolute resistance to the fascist invaders, and acceptance of the assistance offered by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet people highly value the contribution made by Czechoslovak patriots to the victory over fascism. We shall never forget the courage of the fearless underground fighters, the battle-marked way of the Czechoslovak Corps under the command of General Ludvík Svoboda, the selfless dedication of the participants in the Slovak National Uprising, and of its leaders—Karol Šmidke, Gustáv Husák, Jan Šverma and other comrades. We shall never forget the gallant stand of insurgent Prague, to whose aid Soviet Army units came after a swift advance. We are well aware that the Communist Party of

Czechoslovakia was the true soul and organizer of the struggle carried on by the Czechs and Slovaks against the German invaders.

The revolutionary February of 1948 was a historic achievement on the part of the Czechoslovak working class. Having taken power under the leadership of its Communist Party, the Czechoslovak working people put the country's development resolutely and irreversibly on the socialist way. The socialist revolution swept away the final barriers hindering the country's free development. Capitalist exploitation, economic crises and unemployment were ended once and for all.

Revolutionary February opened up to Czechoslovakia the way to socialism, a way of tempestuous growth of the productive forces, a way of steadily rising living standards for the working people, of strengthening genuinely equitable and fraternal relations between the Czechs and the Slovaks and the other nationalities of your country, and of making the treasures of culture and science available to the broadest masses of the working people.

Communists are well aware that building a new society is a complex and creative process requiring a revolutionary break-up of the entire old social structure of life, a process which takes place under conditions of inevitable struggle against the class adversary. In blazing the new paths there may have been both mistakes and failures. But the main thing that characterizes the results of the half-century of the CPCz's work are the great and unquestionable successes in building socialism, which have been achieved by the Party together with the masses and in the interests of the masses.

The Czechoslovak people can rightly take pride in the remarkable achievements which already mark the socialist era in its history. Such dynamism, such extensive socio-economic transformations have not and could not ever have been matched by anything in the country's history.

It was socialism which, for the first time in history, led to the emergence of genuine democracy, and ensured the working people a decisive role in society, giving them confidence in the future, and creating the prerequisites for the all-round development of the human personality. It is precisely the socialist system which in our day provides the potentialities for making the most effective use in the interests of the whole people of such a great force as the current scientific and technological revolution.

The working people of Czechoslovakia already feel the advantages of the new system from their own experience. There is no doubt that with further successes in socialist construction these advantages of socialism will be manifested ever more fully and in greater depth.

Within the family of the fraternal peoples of the socialist countries

Czechoslovakia was for the first time assured of true security and the genuine guarantee of its independence and the inviolability of its borders. With its considerable industrial potential your country has made its contribution to strengthening the economic might of the socialist world. Czechoslovakia's international prestige has grown greatly as an active force consistently taking a stand for peace and the freedom of nations, and against the imperialist policy of oppression and aggression. The fighters for freedom in every continent have spoken of the great role played by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in the development of the world revolutionary process.

Of course, not everyone likes the new, truly people's system in your country, not everyone is happy over the consolidation of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Even in Czechoslovakia itself there turned out to be forces rooted in the past which attempted, with the active support of international reaction, to liquidate the gains of February, to deprive the Communist Party of its leading role in society, to undermine the very foundations of socialism in your country, and to reverse the tide of its history.

Lenin's warning, that until this historical epoch of transition from socialism to communism is over "the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration," (V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 254, Russian Edition) has been borne out once again. The counter-revolutionaries sought to isolate Czechoslovakia from the fraternal countries, to separate it from the socialist community and to place it at the mercy of the imperialists.

However, it is now clear to everyone that your Party has triumphantly stood the harsh tests. Its best men, its main core have passed the trial by battle with flying colours. They blocked the path of the dark tide of anti-socialist hysteria and bourgeois-nationalist agitation started by the combined forces of internal and external counter-revolution, carried on a resolute and successful struggle for restoring the Party's leading role in society and prevented the rupture of the fraternal alliance between Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries.

The credit for this — as comrade Husák quite correctly pointed out — goes to the thousands upon thousands of Czechoslovak communists who, in those trying moments, displayed a sense of principle, firm will and steadfastness in defending everything for which generations of your country's revolutionaries, the heroes of the battles against fascism, the fiery fighters of February, and the builders of socialist Czechoslovakia, had fought for.

At the April 1969 Plenary Meeting of the CC of the CPCz, the Czechoslovak communists voiced their final "no" to the rightist revisionists,

the accomplices of the enemies of socialism. That was the decisive turning-point in restoring the Party's Marxist-Leninist character. The new leadership of the CPCz, elected at the Plenary Meeting, headed the struggle of the forces in the Party and in society for consolidating the socialist system and overcoming the after-effects of the sally by the counter-revolution.

Soviet communists fully share the assessment of the 1968—1969 events given in the well-known document, The Lesson of the Crisis Development, and also in the CC of the CPCz Report to the present Congress. These documents, containing as they do a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of an important stage in the life of your Party and country, are also of great international significance.

In standing up for their socialist gains, the Czechoslovak communists also fought and are fighting both for their people's national interests and for the international interests of the whole communist liberation movement, for the interests of peace and social progress. That is why the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its leaders — comrades Gustáv Husák, Ludvík Svoboda and other unflinching fighters for the cause of socialism — enjoy such high prestige in the world communist movement. In a complex situation they proved themselves to be real patriots and dedicated internationalists, for whom the happiness and prosperity of their socialist country are inseparable from the interests of world socialism.

Dear Comrades, the Report of the CC of the CPCz and the speeches by Congress delegates unfold before us a convincing picture of the Czechoslovak communists' extensive activity in the effort to consolidate the socialist system. Today this is the abiding concern of your Party and of the whole country. In working for the all-round flourishing of the socialist economy through the use of scientific and technological achievements, and the improvement of socialist economic management methods, your Party is laying a sound foundation for an all-round improvement of the conditions of the working people's material and spiritual life, and a further development of the whole system of socialist social relations.

The inspiring prospects being opened up by the Congress for the Czechoslovak people, have become possible, comrades, above all because you have won the battle for the Party, and have achieved its cohesion on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. You have routed the accomplices of the bourgeoisie, the rightist revisionists, who sought to deprive the Party of its all-conquering weapon of Leninism, and who, on the pretext of "improving" and "reviving" socialism, wanted to destroy it, and to turn the country towards a restoration of the capitalist order. At the same

time your Party has demonstrated in practice that it has that sense of the new which Leninist revolutionaries must have, that it rejects dogmatism and the routine approach, and that it refuses to allow the simple repetition of once-memorized formulas to be substituted for the creative approach to phenomena.

Your present achievements, comrades, your confidence in the future, are based on the fact that the Party has mapped out the right way to meet the vital interests of the many millions of working people in town and country. Of this they are convinced through their day-to-day experience. They prove their loyalty to the Communist Party and their trust in its policy in the most convincing manner — by their deeds, by their creative labour. That is why the country's economy has been rehabilitated in a short period and is confidently advancing, after it had been thoroughly unhinged and in essence pushed to the brink of crisis by the revisionist "improvers" of socialism.

Comrades, we have already had occasion to say that the lessons learned by your Party from the sharp clash with the class adversary are meaningful not only for the further development of Czechoslovakia but also for the other socialist countries, for other Communist Parties.

Your experience gives a fresh reminder that it is the sacred duty of the communists of the socialist countries undeviatingly, in all their activity in building the new society, to abide by Lenin's precepts, by the revolutionary essence of his great teaching, and to give a resolute rebuff to any attempts to distort or falsify Leninism, to any manifestations of opportunism. This experience over and over again confirms and sounds a fresh warning about the dangers of self-complacency, about the necessity of being constantly vigilant as regards all forms of hostile activity on the part of the adversaries of socialism. It teaches the need to carry on a consistent struggle against the subversive acts of international imperialism. It shows how important it is to strengthen the Communist Party's leading role and its bonds with the broad masses of the working people, constantly to improve the style and methods of Party work in educating the masses, and consistently to develop socialist democracy.

Life has once again provided convincing confirmation that the power of socialist internationalism, the fraternal cohesion of the socialist states, their unbreakable solidarity and mutual support have been, are and will be of greatest value for the communists of the socialist countries, their reliable support and powerful weapon in the fight against the class enemies.

Steeled in class battles, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia confidently leads the working people to fresh achievements in socialist construction. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic now stands before

the whole world as a solid link in the great alliance of the peoples building the new life, and no one will ever succeed in wrenching Czechoslovakia from the socialist camp or in disrupting our brotherhood and friendship.

Comrades, the might of socialism is multiplied, and its influence on the course of world developments is increased by active co-operation between the socialist states within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, within the framework of bilateral relations, by joint comradely discussion of the questions which arise, by the formulation and pursuit of a fundamentally common foreign policy line, and by close co-ordination of their practical acts.

In their fight against imperialist aggression, the peoples of Indochina, the patriots of the Arab countries and the other peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and, of course, of the European continent as well, all feel from their own experience and the development of their own countries the great positive influence exerted by the socialist states' concerted measures in defence of peace, freedom and social progress.

As far as Europe is concerned, we find that there the consistent line pursued by the countries of the socialist community has already yielded real fruits in the effort to consolidate peace, and to develop peaceful and mutually advantageous co-operation between the states of this continent.

All those who do not close their eyes to the facts, those who make an objective assessment of the present-day reality, must realize that in our day it is the socialist community that is the most reliable bulwark of European peace. Our joint struggle for truly lasting peace in Europe is meeting with growing understanding both in broad public circles and among many governments of European states.

We take a realistic view of the state of things. We see the attempts to sabotage progress in ensuring European security, and we know who is behind them.

For the purpose of boycotting the constructive initiatives of the socialist states a whole theory has been evolved to the effect that European problems cannot allegedly be solved otherwise than all at once, in a single package. This is the line taken in the efforts to hamper the ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic, to delay the convocation of an all-European conference, to hinder the settlement of other problems, including such an important one as Bonn's recognition that the Munich *diktat* was invalid from the very start, with all the ensuing consequences.

However, one cannot go on speculating endlessly on the interests of peace and the security of nations. The establishing of all-European co-operation must not be an object of political bargaining. We should like to believe that the statesmen of the European countries will find enough resolution and realism to take account, in practice, of the tragic lessons of the past. We believe that the peoples' urge for peace and real security is insuperable. We sincerely hope that the present favourable possibilities will be used, and that a sound foundation will be laid for peaceful co-operation between all European states.

The all-round co-operation of the socialist countries is a reliable guarantee of improvement in the whole international situation, and of ensuring favourable conditions for implementing our grand plans for the building of socialism and communism. Allow me, comrades, from the rostrum of your Congress, to declare that the CPSU will continue to pursue its line of strengthening and developing such co-operation. This policy was explicitly reaffirmed by our Party's 24th Congress, and we shall do everything we can for steadily strengthening the unity and might of the world socialist system, the greatest achievement of mankind's revolutionary forces.

Comrades, we are happy to feel that in this we are working shoulder to shoulder with you. Our co-operation in politics, in economics and in ideology is becoming ever closer and more fruitful. As you know yourselves, the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed at the historic Prague Castle a year ago, provides for the peoples of our countries to move even closer together and further develop our all-round co-operation, including co-operation in the sphere of national-economic ties, which, we are sure, will represent an important contribution to the common cause of the socialist countries' economic integration. This Treaty commits us to take the necessary measures to defend the socialist gains of the peoples, and the security and independence of our two countries. This Treaty serves and will continue to serve well the noble aim of deepening and developing lasting and unbreakable friendship between the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Allow me, dear friends, to express profound gratitude to comrade Gustáv Husák and the other comrades who spoke there, for their high assessment of our Party's activity, and the international character of its policy, for their high assessment of the decisions of the CPSU's 24th Congress. Recognition by friends is both a source of inspiration and puts one under an obligation. Let me assure you that Soviet communists, true to Lenin's precepts, will always be worthy of the trust of their friends in the common struggle for socialism and communism.

In winding up my speech I should like once again to wish your Congress full success in its work. We are sure that it will mark out the way for further victories for socialism in Czechoslovakia and that it will still further strengthen friendship between our countries and consolidate the whole socialist community.

Long live the militant alliance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

May the friendship of the Soviet and the Czechoslovak peoples develop and strengthen from year to year!

Long live the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, of the world communist movement and of all the anti-imperialist forces!

Long live peace and communism!

Gustáv Husák,
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
of Czechoslovakia

CLOSING SPEECH

Dear comrade delegates,
Dear guests,

We have completed the programme as officially adopted and we now conclude the work of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In extensive democratic discussion over the course of five days' very intensive work the properly elected representatives of the Czechoslovak communists have brought to a close the complicated period in the life of our Party and society that has passed since the 13th Congress, and have elaborated the binding line for our further work.

We can rightly say that the Congress fulfilled its task in full awareness of its responsibility towards the Party, our working class and all our working people and towards the international communist and working class movement.

The deliberations of the Congress furnished proof of the complete ideological and political unity of the Party on all questions concerning, on the one hand the evaluation of the past period, and on the other, the programme of our work for the coming years.

When characterizing concisely the course of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, three of its basic features stand out conspicuously:

1. From the profound political, social and economic crisis, from the struggles with the rightist and anti-socialist forces, the Marxist-Leninist teaching and the forces faithful to that teaching, faithful to proletarian internationalism, have emerged victorious.

We now bring the crisis period stage to a close, but the conclusions of The Lesson drawn from this development, the conclusions concern-

ing the absolute need for Marxist-Leninist unity in our Party remain binding for us, for all our further work.

We are bringing an important stage to a close. We have won an historic victory, and done so through political forms of struggle.

But we must not fall victims to self-satisfaction, nor relax in vigilance vis-a-vis the class enemy and his revisionist stooges and allies. We shall patiently win over every honest person for the cause of socialism. But we shall not permit any attempts at disruptive activity, which might damage our society's development.

2. The Congress approved a programme for the all-round development of our socialist society, the development of its political system, its economy, the living standard and cultural level of the people. It dealt with the basic vital problems of our working class, our farmers, our intelligentsia and all strata of our working people. In this we take up and follow on from the efforts of the Party, the working class and the working people during the past two years. The preparation of the 14th Congress and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia provided the stimulus for wide-spread upsurge, workers' initiative and socialist emulation. During these few days working collectives in industry, agriculture, building, transport and other branches have announced the fulfilment of their pledges and taken on new ones. These initiatives on the part of workers will bring in thousands of millions of crowns worth to our national economy. On behalf of the Congress I would sincerely like to thank all the workers, both communists and non-party workers, for this selfless work which they did in honour of the Party and for the good of our country. We would also like to thank all those who sent the Congress the thousands of messages of greetings, the expressions of agreement, and the proclamations concerning the fulfilment of pledges.

The tasks for the further development of our socialist society, in the coming period, are exacting but realistic. The fulfilment of these coming tasks presupposes and demands creative Marxist-Leninist ideas and approach, a struggle for the new goals and a new quality in our work in all sectors. In this, too, we have the shining example of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before us. Whoever stands still, gets beaten. And we wish to stride forward in our development, forward to the bold aims of communism. The conclusions of the Congress present all our workers with prospects of a happier and better life.

3. The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been an unforgettable manifestation of proletarian internationalism.

It confirmed that we unequivocally belong in the socialist camp and in the international communist and working-class movement.

We highly appreciate the broad participation of the fraternal communist and workers' parties and parties fighting for national freedom, against imperialism, and for democracy, peace and socialism. On behalf of our Congress I thank them for their expressions of solidarity and support for the Czechoslovak communists during the past period and for support of our endeavours to consolidate and develop socialism, which they expressed at our Congress.

We wish to assure the fraternal parties of our complete solidarity with their struggles, and we promise them that we will not spare our strength in doing what we can to strengthen the unity of the international communist movement on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of all the revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism. We ask the representatives of the fraternal parties to convey the warm greetings of our Congress and those of the Czechoslovak people to the working classes and working peoples of their own countries when they return home.

Our Congress unequivocally expressed its determination to strengthen the camp of socialism, to do everything possible to deepen co-operation with these fraternal parties and countries.

It unequivocally evaluated the position and role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in the international workers' and communist movement as being the main strength and pillar of socialism, progress and peace in the world. The Congress expressed its high appreciation of the selfless and fraternal assistance that has been afforded us by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people during the course of the fifty years' existence of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, during the course of the struggle against fascism, for our national and state freedom, during the course of our construction of socialism and in the crisis years of struggle with the right-wing, anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary forces. The 14th Congress confirmed our fidelity to friendship with the Soviet Union and the Soviet people over the decades, expressed in the slogan: "With the Soviet Union for ever!" We wish to express our thanks for the words of recognition and support expressed at our Congress by the leader of the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by our faithful friend, hero of the CSSR, comrade L. I. Brezhnev, and to assure the Soviet comrades that we shall never allow anyone in any way to break the bonds of eternal friendship and brotherhood between our parties and our nations.

The deliberations of the Congress evoked exceptionally positive response in our factories, our cooperatives and work places throughout the country.

Now it is a question of conveying to the broad masses of our people the conclusions and tasks approved by the Congress, likewise the principled unity, enthusiasm and zest, which characterized our Congress, and of organizing our work, so that the results of the Congress and its conclusions and the tasks set forth will be brought to life in our everyday activity.

In this way we can best fulfil our duty to the generations of communists who, during the course of the fifty years' history of our Party, raised high the revolutionary banner of the struggle of the working class, in this way we can best secure our main aim, namely a free and happy life for the working people in our socialist homeland.

From the rostrum of the Congress and on behalf of the Congress, I turn to the workers, farmers, intelligentsia and all other social strata, old and young, to all our citizens, to everyone who cares about the future of our country and the fate of our nations, asking them to set to work and support the endeavours aiming at the all-round flourishing of our homeland.

May I be permitted to thank all the men and women comrades who through their selfless work helped to prepare good conditions for the Congress to take place, and to thank the press, radio and television workers for their alacrity in acquainting the public with the deliberations of the Congress.

Comrade delegates, may we wish you all great success in your coming work of implementing the conclusions of our 14th Congress. We hope that our Party, having set off on the path of service to our working class and all the working people, will now consistently and systematically work in firm unity, faithful to Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism. We wish the working people of Czechoslovakia further successes in the development and flourishing of our society.

Comrade delegates, may I now be permitted to pronounce the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as ended.

Long live our working class and the Czechoslovak working people!

Long live the fraternal union of the Czech and Slovak nations and our other nationalities, long live the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic!

Long live Marxism-Leninism, may the international communist and working class movement flourish!

Long live the unity of the revolutionary and progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism, and for the freedom of the nations, for democracy, peace and socialism!

Long live the unity of the countries of the socialist camp!

Long live for all time our friendship and brotherhood with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people!

Long live the leading force of our working people — the glorious Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

THE RESOLUTION OF THE 14TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DISCUSSED

The 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which met in Prague from May 25th—29th, 1971.

— the Report on the main trends of the economic policy of the and the development of society since the 13th Congress of the CPCz, and other tasks of the Party, delivered by the First Secretary of the CC of the CPCz, comrade G. Husák;

— the Report by the Central Control and Auditing Commission, delivered by the Chairman of the CCAC, comrade M. Jakeš;

— the Report on the main trends in the economic policy of the Party for the years 1971—1975, delivered by member of the PCC of the CPCz, comrade L. Štrougal.

The Congress approves

a) the content of these reports and obliges all Party bodies and organizations to adhere to them in their practical activity;

b) the line of the CC of the CPCz since April 1969, expressed in the Implementation Directive adopted at the May plenary session of the CC of the CPCz in 1969, orienting the Party towards overcoming the crisis, restoring the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party and the fundamental principles of the construction of socialism; the procedure of the CC of the CPCz and the CCAC in the co-optation of members faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in the release of the upholders of right-wing opportunism and revisionism; the procedure of the CC of the CPCz in the exchange of Party membership cards;

c) the documents of the December plenary session of the CC of the CPCz in 1970, namely "Lesson drawn from the Crisis Development

In the Party and Society after the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" and "Resolution on the Topical Problems of the Unity of the Party", as binding directives for the activity of the whole Party;

d) The Directives of the 14th Congress of the CC of the CPCz for the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy for the years 1971—1975;

e) the motion for partial changes in the CPCz Party Statues.

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The Congress states that on the basis of the policy of the CC of the CPCz, headed by comrade G. Husák, a serious crisis in the Party and society has been overcome. Thus the Party, at the time of the 50th anniversary of its creation, has fulfilled its class, political and moral responsibility towards the working class and, through the restoration of the class-conscious and international approach to the solution of individual problems, has linked up with its most valuable revolutionary traditions.

1. Throughout its whole 50-year history, in the fights against capitalism and in building up socialism, the Party has fulfilled and will continue to fulfil its historical role with honour. By building up socialism in an historically short period a work has been created that ranks among the most glorious in the history of our nations. The selfless work, struggles and sufferings of the pioneers of socialism and the several generations of fighters of our movement were not in vain. The Congress pays tribute to all those who stood at the origins of our Party, who fought bravely in its ranks, who stood their ground in hard struggles and thus laid the foundations of our socialist present. We bow with respect before the memory of those who sacrificed their lives for the idea of communism.

The victorious path of the fifty years of work and fights of the Party confirms the rightness of the general principles of building up socialism also in the conditions of our country. Again we recall the epoch-making significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the participation of V. I. Lenin in the emergence and forming of our Party. We highly appreciate the assistance given by the CPSU and the Soviet Union to our Party and to the peoples of our country.

The conclusions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU are for us a new inspiring example and a source of instruction. We shall proceed from the experiences of the Leninist CPSU, which are also an example of how to solve our basic problems. We would like to introduce a principled, objective and creative approach towards the solutions of the

tasks of the further development of socialist society into the activity of our Party as well.

2. The period since the 13th Congress has been one of the most complicated and most instructive chapters in the whole revolutionary history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The 13th Congress met at a time when the Party was facing the challenging and complicated task of how to secure an all-round development of socialist society and resolutely solve many negative tendencies, that had been operating over a long period.

The 13th Congress — in harmony with the actual needs of socialist society — correctly determined the main directions for overcoming the difficulties and for solving problems that had matured. In the practical implementation of the conclusions of the Congress, however, the leadership existing at the time lacked Marxist-Leninist principledness, consistency and the ability to activate the Marxist-Leninist forces of the Party. This led to a growth of crisis-ridden phenomena both in the Party and in society.

The January plenum 1968 was an expression of the need to solve the crisis-ridden situation and to overcome, in the activities of the Party, especially in its leadership, all that stood in the way of a resolute implementation of Leninist principles and further development of socialist society.

However, a serious shortcoming was the fact that it did not clearly define the class content and framework for further social development and did not orientate the Party for the fight against growing rightist opportunism and the anti-socialist trends.

The new leadership of the CPCz, which lacked fundamental Marxist-Leninist unity, did not secure the implementation of the positive results of the January plenum, and by its irresolute, unprincipled course gave scope to the onset of a revisionist and opportunist current inside the Party. A political bloc of rightist revisionist and anti-socialist forces was formed, which, with extensive assistance from imperialism and international reaction, passed on to a counter-revolutionary attempt at a reversal of social conditions in the CSSR.

Experiences from this period are generalized in the document of the December Plenum of the CC of the CPCz (1970), "Lesson drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and in Society after the 13th Congress of the CPCz", which was accepted by the whole Party.

The Congress expresses its sincere gratitude to the CPSU, to the Soviet government and to the Soviet people, as well as to the other socialist countries, for their having understood the justified apprehensions of Czechoslovak communists and socialist thinking people for the cause of socialism and complied with their appeals for help.

The internationalist assistance given by our allies was in the existing situation the inevitable and the only right solution. It corresponded to the common interests of the Czechoslovak working people, the international working class, the socialist community and the class interests of the world communist movement. It saved our country from civil war and counter-revolutionary upheaval, it prevented a threat to the positions of socialism in Europe and a revision of the results of the Second World War. Conditions were created for an offensive move forward on the part of the Marxist-Leninist core inside the Party and society, for a complete defeat of the anti-socialist and rightist opportunist forces' bloc and for gradual consolidation in our country.

The Congress expresses its thanks to all comrades who under the hard conditions of crisis stood firmly on the positions of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and who, by their resolute fight, created conditions for the achievement of the principled turn, which took place at the April plenum 1969.

3) The April and May plena of the CC of the CPCz in 1969 outlined a programme, the aim of which was to lead our Party and society out of deep crisis. Through the election of a new leadership of the Party, with comrade Gustáv Husák at its head, fundamental pre-conditions were created for a strengthening of the Party, for a renewal of its leading role, for total political and economic consolidation.

The Congress highly appreciates the principledness of the policy followed since the April plenum of the CC of the CPCz in 1969, the tactical course chosen, the determination and consistency in realization of the line which was laid down. We express our thanks to all those who consistently put the Marxist-Leninist course of the consolidation of conditions in our country into practice and who, by their selfless work, endeavoured to achieve positive results.

The Congress states that the exchange of Party membership cards was necessary and right and that the objectives laid down by the January plenary session of the CC of the CPCz in 1970 were attained, thereby creating decisive conditions for the restoration of the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party. The Congress positively evaluates the course adopted by the CC of the CPCz and declares that the Party will not allow anyone to cast doubts on the positive results of this complex and demanding action.

4) Under the leadership of the Central Committee, the Party, relying on the ever increasing support of the working people, succeeded in achieving the aims of consolidation laid down by the "Implementation Directive" of the May plenary session of the CC of the CPCz of 1969. The cleansing of the Party and the restoration of its Marxist-Leninist character now enables the Party to play its histo-

rical role in socialist society to the full extent and to organize the forces of the working class, co-operative farmers and intelligentsia for accomplishing the objectives of the further development of that socialist society.

Conditions have been created for peaceful life and work for our people, the socialist State and its bodies fulfil their functions, the social organizations operate in the spirit of socialist principles. The planned management of the national economy has been restored, prices as well as the market have been stabilized, the planned objectives in production and in the growth of the national income are being overfulfilled, the economy is beginning to develop dynamically.

The basic values of socialism are gradually taking firmer hold, in the minds of the majority of people. An atmosphere of mutual confidence has been restored, friendly relations with the USSR and other socialist countries have been re-established and further developed. The CPCz, in harmony with its revolutionary and international traditions, has resumed its place among the ranks of the international communist movement. The international position of our State has again been strengthened.

On the basis of their own experience the working people have convinced themselves that the political course adopted by the CC of the CPCz in April 1969 was realistic and correct, that it is consistently being put into practice and bears tangible results. The achievements of the Party's policy were also confirmed by the course and results of the annual membership meetings, district and regional conferences, and the Congress of the CPS, which were a good preparation for the 14th Congress of the CPCz.

We do not overestimate the results reached so far and we are aware of the difficulty and complexity of our further path. The consolidation of the Party and society makes it possible for us to devote, in the coming period, all our energies to the further consolidation and development of socialist society. Our society possesses all internal and external prerequisites for further successful development. The Party will continue along the path on which it has set out, in the spirit of the bequest of its revolutionary traditions.

The Congress lays down the following fundamental objectives for the further activities of the Party and the development of socialist society:

I. INNER- PARTY LIFE

1) The successful development of our socialist society completely depends of the consistent implementation and deepening of the leading role of the Party. The historical indispensibility of its leading role continues to grow with the new tasks and needs of the building up of socialism. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is again capable of fulfilling its leading role in all spheres, it is the political, ideological, cognitive and managing centre of society. It is the guarantee for the linking-up of our constructive efforts with the international efforts of the community of socialist countries, with the Soviet Union and with the revolutionary struggle of the international communist and anti-imperialist movement.

In its fight against rightist opportunism and revisionism the Party has revived its revolutionary forces, it is now ideologically unified and capable of action, is taking the Leninist path and setting itself bold and demanding tasks.

At the same time the Congress calls attention to the fact that it is not possible to be satisfied with the attained state of affairs and to conceal the difficulties of further advance. The development of socialism will lay ever increasing requirements on the guiding activity of the Party, on each Party member. Our further achievements will be determined more and more by the choice of correct methods and forms, by the quality and effectiveness of Party work.

The results attained by the strenuous activity of the Party, the working class and all the working people will be the ground on which we shall build; we shall strengthen and develop them. We draw the attention of the whole Party to the timely and creative solution of the present day problems that have matured and to defining optimal ways of further all-round development of socialist society. This will be essential and decisive in our work.

The strength of the Party lies in its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the unity of its ranks, in its capacity to act, in the purposeful deepening of the ideological maturity of all its members, in a correct cadre policy and in close and constantly developing contact with the people. The consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party requires that these decisive prerequisites be paid all due attention.

We must do our utmost to see that our Party fulfils its historical mission as the vanguard of the working class and all the working people, that it fully implements its leading role in society as a revolutionary, international and, at the same time, profoundly national political force.

Even in the conditions of the federative set-up of the State the CPCz preserves the character of a united internationalist party, which guarantees relations of fraternal co-operation among the nations and nationalities of the CSSR and is an integrating force for the whole State.

2) In the everyday activity of Party bodies and organizations it is necessary to further consolidate ideological, organizational and action unity in the spirit of the "Resolution on the Topical Problems of the Unity of the Party".

The basis of the Party's unity is Marxism-Leninism. A knowledge of Marxism-Leninism enables us to be correctly oriented in the complex social processes and to draw effective conclusions in time. Therefore in the activity of the Party the art of unifying the achievements of science with revolutionary practice is of decisive significance. In order to strengthen the plan-based and conceptual character of Party activity it is necessary to proceed with the inauguration of work on a long-term programme for the development of socialist society.

The experience acquired in the past period has given us a bitter lesson about how detrimental can be the effects of underestimating the ideological activity of the Party and neglecting the ideological, political education of the working people. The solution of the problems of the further development of society urgently requires that the influence of socialist ideology in all spheres be substantially increased, that the ideological and theoretical level of communists be raised, and the moral and political unity of the working people strengthened.

The elements of socialist educational and ideological activity must contribute to this aim. Its fundamental purport is to create a socialist awareness on the part of the people based on the principles of a scientific world outlook, to educate in a spirit of socialist patriotism, proletarian internationalism and solidarity with the struggle of revolutionary forces against imperialism in the world. To explain, from positions of Marxism-Leninism, the present distribution of class forces in the world, the historical struggle of socialism with capitalism, and our place in it.

An inseparable part of this ideological education is the creation of a socialist approach to work, the strengthening of conscious discipline, the increasing of the sense of responsibility of the individual towards society, the fight against all manifestations of petty-bourgeois thinking, religious survivals and nationalism, and against anti-Sovietism and all forms of bourgeois ideology.

The Party as a union of like-thinking people must pay foremost attention to ideological work. The ideological development of a Party

member is not only his personal concern but a foremost Party obligation. Efforts to increase the political and ideological level of every communist is a basic and lasting task for all Party bodies and organizations. A significant role here falls to systematic study on the part of every Party member within the Party education system.

The main danger against which we must fight is rightist opportunism and revisionism. The politically defeated rightist forces are adjusting their tactics to the new conditions; they endeavour to influence the thinking of a part of the people, to misuse our mistakes and objectively-arising difficulties. They disparage the results of the honest work of people, they try to divide us by slanders, gossip and provocations, to mislead our attention away from the urgent nationwide social problems. We paid dearly for the conciliatory attitude towards rightist trends in the Party and their upholders. We must never give them the least opportunity to re-assert themselves. To accomplish the defeat of the right wing in the sphere of ideology is at the present stage an exceptionally important task for the Party. The principled fight against rightist opportunism demands the exposing of its class and social roots and the resolute fight against any counter-revolutionary efforts on the part of the remnants of the former exploitative classes, who rely on the remnants of the influence of petty-bourgeois ideology and anti-communist subversion.

In the sphere of ideology neither conciliation nor compromises are possible. The extermination and overcoming of revisionism depend above all on a timely and consistently Marxist-Leninist solution to the fundamental questions of the further development of our society and the development of ideological work. An effective fight against the right wing presupposes at the same time that we shall also systematically overcome the rigid dogmatic comprehension of Marxism-Leninism. The CC of the CPCz as the political and theoretical centre of the Party must continue to increase the attention given to the development of theory, must improve the efficiency of control over the management of institutions of political science, and pay close attention to the Leninist understanding of the relations between science and politics and its putting into practice.

3) The fulfilment of these demanding tasks and goals depends on responsible and initiatory political activity on the part of every communist, both at his place of work and where he lives. The consistent observance of Party discipline and the precise fulfilment of Party obligations, a regular Party life, an atmosphere of objective, open and democratic discussion about questions are the conditions for increasing the activity of Party members. This depends also on a high level of mutual demandingness, criticism and self-criticism but also on

comradely understanding, assistance and support. The district committees of the Party, whose main role lies in guiding the primary organizations, have an important role to play in the creation of these conditions, as it is at places of work and places of domicile, that the implementation of Party policy is effected.

The Congress reiterates that the increasing demands on the work of every communist require that manifestations of passivity and formalism in the Party be resolutely overcome. We consider the struggle against the causes and manifestations of passivity to be a part of the fight against opportunism. The development of activity presupposes further systematic participation on the part of all communists in the creation and implementation of Party policy, a better organization of work, systematic and correct information, the consistent checking of work done. The collectivity of the leadership and an accurate laying down of personal responsibility are binding principles of work of any Party organism.

Consistent implementation of the principles of democratic centralism, firm and conscious discipline on the part of each communist stemming from deep conviction, from devotion to the Party and determination to push through its political line, are of decisive significance for an increase in the Party's capacity to act. Democratic centralism, by its intrinsic essence is linked with inner Party democracy. It demands the maintaining of a uniform interpretation and a unified attitude to the implementation of Party policy, to the discussion of Party questions exclusively within the framework of the Party. It is also in the interests of the Party to exterminate resolutely any attempts at grouping and factional activities. Both bureaucratic centralism and anarchy as well as spontaneity harm the development of inner-Party democracy. The skilful linking of creative initiative with purposeful control will multiply our strength.

For the development of full inner-Party life and of strengthening the Marxist-Leninist character of the Party, it is necessary to make use of the changes carried out in the Party Statutes. Congress obliges all Party bodies and organizations to see to it that there is a thorough knowledge of the Party Statutes and that they are fully implemented in Party life, to check their fulfilment and uncompromisingly to draw conclusions from their violation.

4) In order to keep its leading role in all sectors, the Party must systematically also pay attention to improving the quality and growth of the membership base. The exchange of Party membership cards helped to create indispensable conditions for moulding the Party on a qualitatively higher level. We must continue to keep to the line of increasing demands on Party members, we must not tolerate con-

cillatory attitudes towards those who do not strive for their further all-round ideological, political and professional growth and who do not fulfil their Party obligations.

The Congress sets all Party bodies and organizations the urgent task of permanently and purposefully strengthening the revolutionary character of the Party by invigorating its working-class core from the ranks of the best, the politically and ideologically mature, members of the working class, cooperative farmers and socialist intelligentsia. The responsibility for the future of the Party and socialism must also be reflected in a resolute turning of our attention towards admitting young people into the Party, particularly from the ranks of the working class.

The newly re-introduced candidateship term must be made use of for a more intense political and ideological preparation of new Party members, for a better understanding of their qualifications for Party membership, and for their practical acquaintance with the rights and duties of communists. Care for the growth and activity of the membership base cannot just be a campaign, but must be a purposefully directed process.

5) The successfulness of the political line of the Party is determined by the appropriate selection, good preparation and the purposeful deployment of cadres. Therefore the Congress obliges all Party bodies and organizations to devote exceptional attention to cadre policy.

Cadre work must proceed from the Leninist requirements of class character, communist ideology, high moral qualities, devotion to the Party, close contact with the people, a lasting effort to acquire political and professional education, devotion to work for socialism. The Party does not link the political aspects cadre work only to the membership of the Party. Each citizen devoted to socialism is given every opportunity in this country of asserting himself personally and socially, according to his abilities, achievements in work and political committedness.

An inexhaustible source of cadres are the masses of workers, cooperative farmers, other working people, women and young people. Let us boldly search for and bring forward new, particularly young people, who are well-prepared both politically and from the standpoint of their working abilities, let us charge them with responsible tasks and pay attention to their continuous political and professional growth. At the same time let us sensitively approach the old experienced cadres and couple their experience and knowledge with the zest of the young.

The Party will support the authority of leading workers, treat them with confidence and at the same time increase its demands and control.

It will evaluate them primarily according to the results of their work for society, according to the degree of responsibility, energy and determination, and with what knowledge of things they guide the collectives entrusted to their care towards the implementation of new objectives. We regard the ability to handle people politically and to enlist them for the cause of the CPCz policy to be one of the decisive prerequisites of managing activity. The Party will not tolerate any manifestations of superiority, of disparaging relationships to people, of bureaucratic administration, irresponsibility or, unprincipledness. Functions cannot be filled by those who do not show the necessary measure of political maturity and cannot cope with their tasks.

The Congress appreciates the significant share contributed by the Party apparatus in the results attained. The Party will not allow its role to be disparaged and it will place increasingly higher demands on its work.

The effort towards an overall stabilization of cadres will provide a favourable atmosphere for creative activity and continuous growth in people's qualifications. In cadre policy foremost place is being given to a substantial intensification of the quality of the political education of cadres.

The Congress highly emphasizes the significance of the PCC of the CPCz resolution of 6th November, 1970, on cadre and personnel work as being a binding directive for all bodies, organizations and functionaries of the Party. In keeping with its spirit it is necessary to care for the unity of all demands on cadres, to evaluate each person according to the real results of his work, to proceed from a regular, collective and complex evaluation, to introduce planning and systematicness into the whole of cadre work.

6) A basic problem of the Party's activity is the continuous strengthening and restoration of the unity of the Party and the people, the deepening of the political and moral unity of our society. Communists do not build socialism merely for themselves neither can they construct it without the assistance of the people.

In winning people for the Party's policy we shall rely above all on the attractiveness of the example provided by the selfless work and personal life of communists, on the quality of everyday personal propaganda. Mass political work cannot be the affair of Party bodies and organizations alone, and far greater attention must be paid to it by State bodies, national committees and all social organizations.

The purport of all the Party's efforts has been and is the implementation of the fundamental interests of the working class and other workers. A Marxist-Leninist Party is duty-bound to fight against

unprincipled surrender to the backward moods of the masses and against the laying claim of demagogic requirements.

With all emphasis and urgency, the Congress places before the entire Party the time-tested principle of Klement Gottwald's "Turning to the masses". Through mass political work we shall spread the idea of communism among the working people, and on the basis of a principled and realistic policy we shall strengthen their confidence, inspire their initiative, organize their activity. From the practical experience of the masses the Party also draws a wealth of experience and stimulus for its own activities. It is the small, patient everyday work carried out among people on all possible occasions that decides the results of our policy. In the coming stage our prime concern will have to be mass political work in the factories. We count with every citizen of our socialist State who is willing to participate sincerely, in our common efforts. This applies also to those who did not receive new Party membership-cards, but are willing to rectify their errors by their work. With those who stand politically on the other shore we shall continue to wage a resolute political fight.

II. THE PARTY'S ECONOMIC POLICY

The Congress highly appreciates the results of the consolidation of the national economy achieved under the new Party leadership since April 1969 thanks to the political struggle and organizing work of the Party, to the activity of the organs of management, and to the selfless effort and initiative of the working people.

This served to avert the menace of economic disaster, helped to assure the fulfilment of the majority of the main targets of the Fourth Five-Year Plan, to create a favourable basis for the start of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and the elaboration of a long-term strategy for the development of our economy.

1) The dynamic and well-proportioned growth of our economy is of fundamental significance for the further development of socialist society.

In formulating its economic policy, the Party proceeds from a realistic assessment of the level reached by the economy, its resources and possibilities. It also takes into consideration the peculiarities of the present stage of development, which more and more markedly influence the further development of the economy and society and also set new and more exacting demands on the level of the managing function of the Party, the State and the organs of the economy. Extensive resources having been exhausted, it is necessary to base the

future development of production fully on growth in the productivity of labour, on a marked turn in the material and energy demands of production and in the utilization of the basic fund. The transition to the intensive development of the economy requires making full use of the achievements of the oncoming scientific and technological revolution, of up-to-date methods of management and higher forms of international socialist integration. The need to link up progress in science and technology with socialism, formulated by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is becoming also for us in this country — the only possible course for the further development of socialist society.

The Congress lays down that consistent and all-round increase in the effectiveness of development in the national economy, based on making full use of intensive factors of growth, must be the strategic line for the further development of our economy, the main content of the Party's economic policy.

According to the Directives to the Fifth Five-Year Plan as adopted by the Congress, the economic development in the years 1971—75 is to be oriented towards a further expansion of the material and technological base of socialism and a strengthening of socialist production relations through an intensification of international socialist integration. The main economic objective for the Fifth Five-Year Plan will be further growth in the material and cultural standard of living of the people.

The objectives and tasks of the Party's economic policy for the next five years are expressed in detail in the Draft Directives to the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

The foremost task for the bodies of State and economic management is to work out a realistic but demanding and balanced Five-Year plan covering the years 1971—75, based on these Directives. The Congress stresses the need for the individual five-year plans of departments, sectors, enterprises and national committees to be precisely coordinated with the line and objectives of the economic policy of the Party.

2) The Congress considers it to be the main task of the Five-Year Plan to secure, in harmony with a further development of the socialist way of life, a fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the population and a further strengthening of the life certainties of the population on the basis of the continuous development and increased effectiveness of social production.

The further growth of the living standard should be guided in such a way that, along with the maximum satisfaction of material needs, the balance of all aspects of the living standard should be stressed, including an overall improvement of the living and working environ-

ment, the guaranteeing of social certainties, the development of moral incentives and those elements in society, in the lives of people and in their mutual relations, which strengthen the socialist way of life.

The Congress regards the following as the main trends and directions for developing the standard of living:

— to follow the policy of increasing the real incomes of the working people and their individual consumption. To develop the structure of consumer-goods production in harmony with development of the population's demands, and to speed up, in particular, the sale of production goods and items of long-term consumption. To demand from trade and production a substantial improvement in the flow and flexibility of supply and assortment. To raise substantially the quality and quantity of services and to cope with the existing considerable shortcomings in their provisions;

— to strengthen the socialist principles of reward, especially the relationship between work done and income; to apply emphatically the socialist principles: to each according to his work; to reward honest and skilled work better, and also to penalize bad and unsatisfactory work; and, according to these principles; to prepare a new system of wages and salaries;

— to continue to consolidate the social certainties of the people, in other words, to secure an overall stable level in retail prices and to see that the living standards of those who are unable to participate in the working process should proportionately increase with the growth of the national income. To start to work out and implement a social programme, specially stressing measures stimulating growth in the birth-rate, increasing subsidies to families with children and to young couples. To perfect the system of pensions, and, above all, to solve the problems of the old-scale pensioners, where the need for changes are most urgent;

— to consider the solution of the housing problem to be one of the crucial questions of the living standard in the coming years. To create the technical, material and organizational conditions so that the stipulated target in house building be not only fulfilled, but even overfulfilled. To concentrate the construction of houses and the corresponding building capacities above all on Prague, the North Bohemian Region, and Bratislava. To develop an up-to-date material basis for construction, to stop the growth in construction costs, to economize on actual construction, and to secure better maintenance of the housing fund.

— along with the solution of the housing problem and the raising of the living standard, to stress the necessity to develop the basic funds

of the unproductive sphere, to create conditions for improving the living and working environment and passenger transport, for improving water and heat supplies and other services, and conditions for a better use of spare time. To finalize the building of a comprehensive health service, to shorten the appointment and waiting times, and improve the supply of medicaments.

The Congress enjoins the Central Committee to take into account the fact that in ensuring the further development of the living standard, it should proceed from the fact that the development of society has reached a stage where a steady, balanced, and all-round rise in the living standard does not only become an important expression of the advantages of socialism, but also a necessary condition for the further development of socialism.

3. We cannot attain the planned growth in the living standard, unless we secure a steady growth of and rise in the effectivity of production by intensifying all factors of economic growth and the mobilization of all accumulated reserves. The Congress stresses the need to take energetic measures to uproot all the disorder and irresponsibility which can still be seen in the various links of our national economy, and consistently to improve the organization and fluency of production and labour.

The Congress also thinks that a decisive method for revealing and mobilizing reserves is the method of complex socialist rationalization as an integral part of the production process and the fulfilling of the State plan at all levels of management, as a systematic source for revealing and utilizing reserves in production, in the services, and in administration. It is necessary for all factories, enterprises and sectoral managements to detail complex programmes of rationalization as part of their five-year plans.

4. The Congress sets the goal of speeding up progress in science and technology, which is now becoming a decisive lever for pushing the socialist economy ahead, stressing, above all, the faster application of the results of scientific investigation and research in practice, purposeful flexibility in production programmes, and the raising of the technological level and the usable value of production and products; likewise the adaptation of research to the needs of social practice and its concentration more explicitly on the decisive programmes of development of the national economy and its more consistent coordination with the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. The application of the results of scientific and technological development should become the axis of the national

economic plans and all managing activity. The fulfilling of these tasks should be considered to be an important expression of the Party approach of leading workers.

5. The speedier development of technology is to be linked with more well-proportioned and quicker implementation of structural changes, especially in industry. In the next five years it is necessary, in particular, to overcome the lagging behind of the fuel and energy base and markedly to speed up the tempo of growth of the chemical industry, as the basis for the application of chemistry in the national economy.

Decisive structural changes have to be carried out in engineering, and it is necessary to speed up markedly the development of the technologically advanced branches and productions, alongside the simultaneous restricting and closing down of non-perspective productions and products, on the basis of measures prepared in comprehensive form and in time.

The task of communists in economic organs at all levels and imposed upon them by the Congress, is to work for the concentration of forces, investments and research capacities on the solution of the key tasks of technological development and to take resolute stand against expressions of local and narrow selfish interests on the part of enterprises, which would lead to a dispersing of forces.

The Congress considers it to be an exacting task for Party organizations to win all the gifted and able scientific workers and experts and our technical intelligentsia for unselfish work in fulfilling the tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

6. The Congress believes that a significant prerequisite for a rise in the effectivity of our economic development must be the speed-up and purposeful integration of the Czechoslovak economy into the international socialist division of labour and the development of its higher forms, which will be an important manifestation of proletarian internationalism, and lead to a rapprochement of the economy of Czechoslovakia and those of the other socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. The Congress highly appreciates the significance of the Directives of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its 9th Five-Year Plan, which provides our economy with a firm basis for a long-term programme of dynamic development of international socialist integration. In the interests of the successful development of this international socialist integration, which is an objective requirement for the continuous growth of our national economy, it is necessary at all levels to develop the ideological and political education of the people.

At the same time, it is necessary to develop purposeful economic

and scientific relations with other countries and to raise the effectivity and quality of the work of our foreign trade.

7. The Congress also stresses the need to strengthen the bond of the working class and the cooperative farmers as representing the class basis of political power in our country and the fundamental condition for an all-round development of socialist large-scale agricultural production.

The further development of agriculture is an essential condition for the well-proportioned and effective growth of the national economy. The main task in agriculture is to cover the growing demands for fundamental foodstuffs, the decisive link being an increase in plant production, effective utilization and expansion of the area of land under cultivation, an increase in crop yields, as well as a rational utilization of the grain fund. As regards agriculture Party policy is to be consistently oriented towards an intensified exploitation of the means of production, especially the land, fertilizers, fodder and technology. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the quality of managing and organizational work, to quickly introduce industrial methods and the achievements of scientific technological progress.

The strengthening of the material and technological base is an important condition for a further rise in agricultural production. The participation of other branches must be substantially increased, especially that of engineering and chemistry, so that the products and services essential for the development of agriculture may be ensured.

Socialist agriculture is entering upon a new stage in its development. The further powerful growth of the production forces, especially the effective application of large-scale production techniques and technology, requires marked, purposeful concentration and specialization in plant production and animal breeding. The basic prerequisite for the above end is, above all, the need to establish and deepen co-operation between agricultural enterprises on the basis of economic profitability and voluntary relations, but with due respect to the interests of the community as a whole. The policy of the State regarding investment subsidies, possible intervention and taxation, should be directed to this purpose.

The Congress is of the opinion that the further development of socialist large-scale agricultural production will lead to an overcoming of the differences between the qualifications of industrial and agricultural workers, will increase the attractiveness of agricultural work for young people and further consolidate the bond of the working class and cooperative farmers.

8. The Congress stresses the need to increase, considerably, the level

of the planning and management of capital construction during its preparation and implementation. In the course of the coming years it will be necessary to achieve a reduction in unfinished construction building and to increase the effectivity of capital construction, especially by speeding up the putting into operation of new capacities and by cutting down the costs of construction works.

The primary attention of Party, State and economic authorities should be given to the first-class preparation and carrying out of the decisive investment constructions, complex housing undertakings, and to the regions with concentrated investment activities.

In accordance with this it is also necessary to ensure the planned transfers of construction capacities and to increase labour standards in all building activities. It is necessary to enforce, in all investment activities, the drive towards a concentration of means for the modernization of existing basic funds. New construction should not be allowed wherever there exists a possibility of a better utilization of existing capacities, or by expedient imports.

9. The Congress requests the Central Committee to secure the consistent carrying out of the Directives of the Congress and to organize further work on the Five-Year Plan in such a manner as to ensure, in the spirit of the Party economic policy, the maximum stability and dynamic force, and well-balanced and effective economic development. It charges the Central Committee with the task of organizing further steps for the elaboration of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in State economic organs in such a way that the preparations of the plan for 1972 are carried out in the respective enterprises already with a knowledge of the targets of the Five-Year Plan, thereby creating pre-conditions enabling enterprises to work out the five-year plans together with the draft plan for the year 1972.

10. Exceptional importance is attached by the Congress to the further improvement and consolidation of the system of planned management based on democratic centralism. In carrying out this task it is necessary to proceed from the principles already approved by the January CC plenary session in 1965 and confirmed by the CC sessions in January and December of 1970, as well as from the needs of economic development, from the results of the provisions adopted after April 1969, and from the experiences of fraternal countries, mainly those of the Soviet Union, as generalized by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR.

The exacting tasks of the Five-Year Plan require the system of management to function more efficiently in solving the tasks of economic development set forth in the Five-Year Plan, by making better use of its accumulated reserves, by speeding up scientific and

technological progress and structural change, by encouraging growth in the productivity of labour and decreasing material consumption, by increasing the quality of products and by quicker integration of our economy into the international socialist division of labour.

The Congress regards it as most urgent that specific measures should be elaborated in the sphere of the system of management, so as to incorporate them as part of the Five-Year Plan Draft, and so that the enterprises will be informed in time under what conditions they will operate.

The Congress sees one of the central questions to be the perfectioning of planning, in particular prospective planning, and an increase in its complexity when solving key economic tasks, relying thereby on the utilization of all the existing knowledge of the economic and social sciences, the modern computer techniques and the science of management. It will likewise be necessary to bring sectoral and territorial planning into harmony. While strengthening the role of the plan and in support of its targets, it is imperative to make more active and efficient use of all economic stimuli, in the endeavour to mobilize reserves and to promote material incentives.

It is necessary to raise the standard of the internal management of enterprises, which must rely more deeply on economic calculation; and the wider application of technical and economic norms.

In the structure of management it is necessary to proceed consistently from the application of the principles of democratic centralism, to finalize the question of the position of enterprises, to mark out effectively, in connection with concentration and the combination of production, the functions of the middle link of management, as well as the obligations and responsibilities of central managing bodies. It is necessary systematically to perfect the managerial structure of management and its mechanism, to limit superfluous interlinks in managing and administrative bodies, to improve the level and effectiveness of their activities.

Together with improvements in the pattern of management it is necessary to work towards a raising of the standard of actual managerial and organizational activities, and resolutely to eliminate manifestations of bureaucracy, irresponsibility, slapdash conduct and opportunism in managerial practice, and a conciliatory attitude towards shortcomings.

The Congress stresses the need to encourage a stable situation among cadres, to increase the demands on their political level and their qualifications, to offer them every support in asserting the policy of the Party, and to assess them consistently according to their results. It is necessary to pay systematic attention to raising

the political and professional qualifications of managing personnel, to pick out young, gifted people and entrust them with responsible functions; to devote constant care to all capable experts dedicated to the cause of socialism.

11. In order to raise the quality of the plan-based development of society, it is necessary to develop work on the long-term forecast of the development of the national economy and scientific forecasts for the long-term development of society's needs, and to increase the influence of scientific and technological development and social conditions on the whole process of reproduction. Special attention must be paid in particular to the elaboration of the long-term concept for the development of the fuel and energy base, to linking our economy with international socialist integration, to providing our national economy with basic raw-materials, to the long-term concept of agricultural complexes, nutrition and the problems of housing.

An active role, especially in solving the questions of the effective development of the economy in perfecting the system of plan-based management and international integration, must be played by our economic science and research.

The Draft Directives for the Sixth Five-Year Plan of development of the national economy covering 1976—80 must be worked out in close connection with the long-term view.

12. The Congress stresses that in pushing through the demand to raise effectivity, the decisive role must be played by the conceptual leadership and organizational work of the Party. Therefore, it is necessary for Party organizations and for communists, particularly in leading posts, to bear full responsibility for the consistent implementation of the Resolution of the 14th Congress, to assert it against all obstacles and to call on the broad masses of the working people to fulfil it. Reinforcing the leading role of the Party in the economy is linked up with improving the checking role of the primary Party organizations. At the same time it is necessary to make full use of and to develop further all possible forms of participation on the part of the working people in management.

III. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

1) The policy of the Party gives expression to the fundamental interests of the most advanced class of contemporary society, namely the working class, which in the bond with the farmers and the intelligentsia, is fulfilling its historical mission as the leading force in

the social development from capitalism to communism. The Party dedicates all its efforts to establishing the leading role of the working class, which is the main fighter for the development of socialist society. It will strive for the growth of its class and political consciousness, its education and cultural level.

An ever more important feature of our future development will be the rapprochement of the working class, cooperative farmers, socialist intelligentsia and other working people, the overcoming of differences between town and country, between brainwork and manual work, the consolidation of the people's unity on the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

2) In the relations between our nations and also with regard to the status of the nationalities in Czechoslovakia the Party proceeds from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the nationality policy.

By creating the Czechoslovak Federation the Party completed its efforts towards a constitutional settlement of relations between the Czech and the Slovak nations on the basis of equal rights. Since the moment of its foundation, the Czechoslovak Federation has stood the test of time and now provides a firm class-conscious and internationalist basis for the fraternal life of the nations and nationalities in Czechoslovakia.

The Congress identifies itself fully with this significant political and constitutional act in the history of the Czechoslovak State.

The Party will constantly seek to reinforce socialist relationships among our nations and nationalities, and also an homogenous Czechoslovak consciousness in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, mutual esteem, cooperation, equality and fraternity. It will undertake a determined fight against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism.

3) The expression of the unity of the fundamental class, national and internationalist interests of the working class and the other working people and the basis of socialist democracy in CSSR is the National Front headed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. A National Front, under Czechoslovak conditions, is an expression of the Leninist policy of the bond of the working class, farmers and working intelligentsia of both our nations and all our nationalities.

The fundamental task of the National Front and of all organizations associated within it is to ensure, to a wide degree, the working people's participation in political, public, economic and cultural life, in the management of the development of society as a whole. Its common task is to win over all its members for the policy of the Party, to develop socialist relationships among people, to apply organizational and educational means towards influencing the growth

of conscious working and social activity on the part of citizens, so that feelings of love for their socialist homeland and of sincere friendship for the USSR and the fraternal socialist countries, and of solidarity with all who fight for freedom, peace and social progress in the world may grow ever stronger in their consciousness.

Within the sphere of activity of social organizations, the Party considers that an especially significant task falls to them to contribute towards shaping the socialist way of life, towards making all-round use of the leisure-time of the working people and the youth, towards satisfying their heterogeneous interests.

An important position in our society, especially in the development and application of socialist democracy, is held by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, as the widest mass organization of the working class and the working people. The foremost task of the Trade Unions is to influence intensively the development of the economy, socialist emulation, the innovatory and inventors' movement, to educate the working people towards a socialist approach to work and to socialist ownership, to look after the defence of the legal rights of working people, to help them increase their qualifications, to see to their health, social and cultural needs, to defend the social rights of the community as a whole against those who want to live at the expense of society. They must also lead the workers towards a deeper class understanding of the international solidarity of workers and other working people in their fight for progress, peace and socialism.

The Party will consistently work for an increase in the committedness of communists in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, so that the Trade Unions would take more active part in State administration and in the management of the national economy, and in making working people more politically conscious and winning them over for the policy of the Party. It will also see to it that all important questions bearing upon the working people be negotiated by State and economic bodies with the participation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The Congress highly appreciates the efforts of mothers and working women on behalf of the socialist development of our society. The Party will strive for a further increase in the participation of women in political and economic life. All State and economic bodies and social organizations have to use initiative to improve the working and living conditions of working women and to create prerequisites for increasing their public activity.

An important factor in the process of building up socialism is the younger generation. The Party appreciates youth's natural drive and feeling for everything progressive and links this with the com-

munist future of our country. Concern for the healthy development of youth, for its education in the spirit of the scientific world outlook, of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism is therefore a foremost interest and task of the Party and of society as a whole.

The Party is aware of the grave problems and needs of the younger generation. It will direct and unify the educational impact and attention paid by all parts of society to the development of the ideological, moral and physical qualities of youth.

It will support the participation of youth in the activities of the National Front, in State and other representative bodies, and it will create further conditions for its happy life, for its creative and conscious activity, and all-round social applicability. It will guide the communists in all State and economic bodies, institutions and social organizations towards this goal.

An important part in the socialist education of children and youth, in the development of their healthy initiative, in their active share in the building up of socialism and in spare-time activities is played by the Socialist Union of Youth and its Pioneer Organization. The main mission of the Socialist Union of Youth is to enlist and educate the youth to love its socialist homeland, to cherish sincere relations of friendship with the USSR and all the nations of the socialist camp, so that the basis of its consciousness and world outlook be the noble ideas of socialism and communism. It also has to lead the youth to a devoted fulfilling of the tasks set by the Party for the constructing of socialism, to a knowledge of and respect for the revolutionary traditions of the Party and the people, to an exemplary fulfilling of work and study objectives, and it must develop the all-round special interest activities of children and youth, and extend its ranks by admitting other active members. At the same time it has to prepare the most politically conscious members of the SUY for joining the CPCz. It is the duty of young Party members to work actively among children and the youth. Special attention must be paid to winning over and training other capable, politically mature pioneer leaders.

The Congress highly values the work carried out by the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union in developing and strengthening Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship. In the future the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Union must continue in its task of convincingly and effectively acquainting our working people with the results and aims of Soviet society, thereby strengthening fraternity between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples.

An important role in the development of the physical and moral qualities of our citizens is played by physical training and sport, the mass development of which must be taken care of not only by the

Czechoslovak Union of Physical Training and the "Svazarm", but also by other social organizations, national committees, schools and other institutions.

An important mission devolves on the cooperative and other social and special-interest organizations, which not only have to satisfy the many-sided interests of their members but must link these interests still more markedly with the needs of society as a whole.

4) Our socialist State is the instrument of the power of the working class and of all the working people. This Congress lays particular emphasis on the further strengthening of the class-political basis of the State in the future and on the development of all its functions in the interests of the all-round development of our society.

Under the conditions of the federative set-up of the State it is, at the present time, up to the federative bodies to develop fully their unifying role in the legislative, executive and controlling spheres and, together with the national committees, to deal creatively with the basic tasks of the development of our society.

The essence of the Party's endeavour to strengthen the socialist State, lies in extending and deepening the participation of the people in State management and public administration. It is the duty of the representative bodies and their deputies to maintain close ties with the citizens, to cooperate with the organizations of the National Front and with the working collectives in the solution of local and nationwide problems.

In the further development of socialist democracy an ever greater role falls to the national committees, in their capacity of local bodies of State power and administration, which through their immediate relationship to the life of citizens have prerequisites for their mass recruitment for the management of society. The principal task of the national committees lies in playing a more decisive role in the solution of society's affairs, in meeting the needs of citizens, particularly in housing, in providing good-quality services, transport, supplies of goods, and in the creation of proper conditions for the development of agriculture. The national committees' work must have a more marked effect on the development of the health services, education, school tuition and the cultural life of the people, on the care given to improving the living and social conditions of pensioners, they must more resolutely see to the preservation of public order, the protection of society's overall interests and the rights of citizens.

Along with these tasks, the political and educational role of the national committees must more and more be brought to the fore, likewise the day by day efforts to consolidate the socialist thinking and coexistence of the citizens.

Extra attention must be given by the national committees and all responsible bodies to the solution of the problems of Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia, particularly as regards the transport situation, the public services, housing construction, cultural and social life.

The Congress considers it necessary to create conditions for more successful activity on the part of national committees, first of all by further strengthening their authority, particularly at the lower levels, so that they may act more effectively as bodies caring in a comprehensive manner for the development of their districts. In the next stage of development, the organization, management and activities of the national committees should gradually improve in accordance with the needs of socialist society.

The Congress attaches extraordinary importance to the elections to the representative bodies at all levels. That is why the Congress charges the Party organizations and the communists in the bodies and organizations of the National Front to concentrate in the pre-election preparations on consolidating the unity and activity of the working people in their efforts for the development of socialist society. Particular attention must be devoted in the selection of candidates of the National Front, to finding deputies from among citizens most capable and devoted to the cause of socialism, and also ensuring a larger participation of workers, women and young people.

The further development of the socialist State calls for an improvement in the quality of management in all State bodies, through the more extensive application of the scientific findings and experiences of the fraternal socialist States, so that the work of the central State bodies may acquire an increasingly conceptual character, so that effective rationalized methods may be applied in State administration and so that work in each State body will be more disciplined from the point of view of responsibility and efficiency.

It is necessary, in the work of the State apparatus, consistently to insist on the Leninist method and system of work, on a high political and professional state of preparedness, to fight against bureaucracy and a disparaging approach to the needs of the people.

The Congress lays emphasis on the importance of the people's organs of control for strengthening State and economic discipline and for the observance of socialist legality. Their successful operation will depend to a large extent on the active participation of the working people in the fight for order and discipline in the national economy, as well as in the other spheres of social life.

5) An ever-permanent task of society as a whole, of the armed forces, State and social bodies and institutions, is the guaranteeing of

a reliable defence of the country and the socialist achievements of our people. This aim can be attained only within the framework of the unified efforts of the members of the Warsaw Treaty, in full harmony with the interests of all its member-States, in indestructible friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union.

An important task of the defence policy of the Party and State lies in deepening the national defence education and preparedness of citizens, particularly the youth, on a clear-cut class and international basis, and in strengthening the unity of the army and people in such a way that the defence of our socialist country becomes an honour and patriotic duty for every citizen. Concrete tasks in guaranteeing the national defence education and preparation of citizens fall to the "Svazarm", the Czechoslovak Red Cross, the Czechoslovak Fire Protection Organization and other organizations of the National Front.

In order to strengthen the fighting power of the Czechoslovak Peoples' Army it is necessary to develop party-political work and political-ideological education; and in particular, to consolidate an awareness of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism among the members of the Army. In the further process of building up the Army and moulding its officer corps, it is necessary, from the class and political standpoints, to exploit the findings of Marxist-Leninist army science and the experiences of the fraternal socialist countries. Constant attention must be paid to improving the system of command, to strengthening discipline, to the organization of the life and high state of combative readiness of the troops.

Within the system of the State's armed components, a significant place now and in the future is held by the People's Militia, as the instrument of the defence of workers' power.

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the People's Militia in recognition of its fidelity to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its selflessness and fortitude in the fight against the enemies of socialism and its great political work in the past period. At the same time the Congress charges all Party bodies with the task of seeing to the further improvement of the fighting capacity, political preparation and general personal and material security of the People's Militia.

6. The Congress regards it as important that the activities of the security bodies, the Public Prosecutors and the judiciary should generally be improved for the protection of the socialist order, the security and the defence capacity of the Republic, the interests of the world socialist system, property in socialist possession, public order, the rights and liberties of the citizens.

An urgent task for the security bodies, the Public Prosecutors and the judiciary is the resolute, energetic and coordinated fight against criminality, and the taking of timely and resolute steps against those committing criminal acts.

The observance and strengthening of socialist legality, State and civic discipline, and respect for the law must become the concern of State and economic bodies, social organizations and citizens. It is necessary, therefore, that more attention be devoted to the questions of legal education in all sectors of State and social life.

7. The main attention of the whole Party must be concentrated on the development of ideological work, the raising of the political and moral maturity of the working people, the moulding of their socialist character.

The effective education of socialist man requires the unified political impact of all components of our socialist society, particularly on the part of the entire ideological front. An outstanding role falls to the schools, science, culture, the communication media, organizations and societies, whose immediate task lies in the development of educational and instructional activity among the working people.

Particularly demanding tasks are those of moulding the socialist thinking of the youth, which must be fulfilled by the school system, whose mission it is to prepare the young generation in harmony with the needs of socialist society, with the requirements of the developing economy as well as with those of the individual social spheres. Our school education must be a school education with socialist principles, it must be a support to the socialist regime, its work must proceed from the principle of the unity of culture and education and the linking of school with life. At the present time, it is above all the quality of the pedagogical work, of the actual teaching and the communist education that are the focus of attention. Special care must be devoted to those subjects which immediately influence the socialist consciousness of pupils and students, their relationship to the policy of the Party and their adoption of the scientific world outlook.

It is necessary to make substantial improvements in the system of professional and ideological-political preparation of the younger generation of the working class, particularly in the professional, vocational and apprentice education centres. It is also further necessary to create conditions for increasing the number of children from workers' and farmers' families studying at secondary schools and universities and for their successful study and through educational work at these types of schools to ensure the preparation of

the young socialist intelligentsia as a conscious ally of the working class.

The decisive role in fulfilling the cultural and educational tasks of school education falls to the teachers, whose responsibility for the education of the younger generations has no substitute. The political, professional and moral qualities of teachers of all subjects must guarantee that our new generation will be prepared for life in harmony with the programme of socialist development, in the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, socialist ethics, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Therefore it is necessary to raise the demands both on the selection of future teachers, on their political, professional and moral education at schools, and on the further raising of their professional qualifications and on a systematic evaluation of the results of their work.

The strengthening of the teachers' authority and a rise in their social position in socialist society depends first and foremost on the results of their work.

The Congress charges Party organs at all levels and Party organizations in the schools with the task of developing effective political work among teachers at schools of all levels and of demanding political activity from the leading officials at schools and in school administrative bodies. Special attention must be given to teachers of social science subjects.

The basic certainty for the existence and personal advancement in work of our new generation is being ensured by the development of socialist society. Our students, too, must be fully aware of their responsibility towards that society, the socialist State and the future of our nations.

It is also necessary to implement the unified nation-wide school policy consistently, to raise the effectiveness of management, to gradually and purposefully raise the quality of the whole school system, to continue to increase and modernize the material base of the school system.

The educational work of our schools must get support from the whole of society, above all from the communication media, literature and art.

8. The development of socialist society is linked directly with the development of science. We are faced with the task of organically reconciling the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution with those of socialist society itself.

The policy of the Party in the field of science is therefore an inseparable part of the Party's general political strategy in implementing the historic role of the working class. This policy is based on the

principles of the internationalist nature of science and on the deepening integration of science in the countries of the world socialist community.

Together with effective measures in economic life, it is necessary to introduce rational organization and subject specialization into the whole scientific and research base of the CSSR; to ensure unified and comprehensive control of science in all its branches and organs; to look for ways of further applying our developed scientific base, to resolutely overcome the end-in-itself tendencies in research, to concentrate our forces on the main tasks, to bring science nearer to production and practice, and to create conditions enabling the creative work of the scientific intelligentsia to contribute to a greater extent to the further development of socialism; to strengthen the role of the State Plan in the development of science and technology and to link it up with the plans of economic and social development.

In a class-divided world, the ideological function of science comes to the fore. For its full application as an instrument of class struggle, it is necessary to overcome the elitist conception of science and the revisionist destructiveness of the recent period. The fight against revisionism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts must be waged on the basis of the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and the various branches of the social sciences ensuing from it. The foremost task, therefore, is to mould the Marxist-Leninist forces and to orient the socio-scientific front towards the solution of the topical problems of socialist construction.

9. The Party considers the creation of artistic values and the raising of the cultural level of the broadest strata of the working people to be an important factor in the moulding of socialist man and the deepening of socialist relations in society.

The growth over a long period of non-socialist and petty-bourgeois trends led, especially in the ideological and creative sphere, to the gradual deviation of a great part of artistic work and culture from its socialist mission and culminated in the misuse of this sphere by self-appointed elite groups for the political goals of the right wing. The most fundamental political prerequisites for the restoration of the socialist character of art were already created during the consolidation process. Now it is a question of fully reviving the important social and educational function of art, of developing widespread activity on the creative front to produce literary, dramatic, musical and other art values in a socialist spirit.

The Party will support art proceeding from the Leninist principle of art that is true to the Party and the people, from the principle of socialist realism, differentiated in expression and genre, but

firmly linked with the interests and struggle of the working class and of all working people. The mission of art is to enrich our socialist reality and actively to take part in the ideological struggle of socialism with capitalism.

A high sense of responsibility, a Party-true approach and principledness in the propagation of art values is expected from the creative workers in films, broadcasting, television, cultural education, from those in State and Trade Union bodies and other establishments. The material means available for culture and the arts must be expended in support of works of a committed nature and must not support petty-bourgeois bad taste, commercialized art, trash and anti-socialist trends. At the same time, we consider it necessary to revive and develop socialist art criticism as an important means of resolving ideological and creative problems. The education of new generations of creative intelligentsia in art, fully devoted to the ideas of socialism and communism, is an important problem that depends, first of all, on the responsible work of the Schools of Art, both in its political and professional aspects.

The Party will support the development of the working people's own initiative in this field, their manifold special-interest activities in culture and art.

The Congress emphasizes the principle of the development and cooperation of our two national cultures — the Czech and the Slovak — while respecting their specific features and applying consistent Leninist class and internationalist principles.

10. The mass communication media are important and powerful ideological instruments in the hands of the Communist Party and socialist State for moulding the new socialist man. It is their basic task to increase and develop the socialist self-confidence of the broad strata of the population, to mould public opinion purposefully and in accordance with socialist ideals, to spread knowledge of the life and work of the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries, and objectively and truthfully to inform our society on events at home and abroad.

It is necessary to win over the working people for the active policy of the Party, to cultivate and develop the sense of responsibility of the members of our nations and nationalities for the present state and development of our socialist society and their participation in the management of our State, to stimulate their working and civic initiative, to popularize the successes attained and the best workers, to educate our people in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism. It is necessary to fight uncompromisingly against hostile propaganda, against the influences of petty-bourgeois ide-

logy and all petty-bourgeois manifestations in thinking and practice. It is necessary to take a resolute stand against haughtiness, lack of responsibility, formalism, wordiness, slapdash work, parasitism, bribery and all that slows down the development of the initiative of the working people.

Only morally firm and honest people, convinced adherents of the socialist system, who commit themselves to the implementation of the Communist Party's policy, can work in the editorial offices of Czechoslovakia's mass communication media.

It is necessary to improve the professional level of the mass communication media and to apply a system of management, which will ensure the highest possible efficiency in their work in the implementation of the decisions and directives of the Party. An important prerequisite for efficiency in the mass communication media is their gradual modernization and the improvement of their material and technological base.

IV. FOREIGN POLICY

1. The permanent basis of the foreign policy line of the CPCz and the CSSR, and the guarantee of the freedom, independence and socialist development of our homeland, are the relations of fraternal cooperation, friendship and firm alliance with the USSR and the other socialist countries. The Congress enjoins the Central Committee to devote all its forces to the further all-round development of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries, to the consolidation of the unity of the socialist community. The CSSR will contribute to the utmost to the systematic strengthening of the Warsaw Treaty and take active part in deepening the cooperation and development of the economic integration of the socialist countries within the framework of CMEA.

Our Party will unswervingly safeguard the firm friendship and alliance of the CSSR with the Soviet Union. We will do our utmost to see that the new Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the CSSR and the USSR becomes a fruitful point of departure for the further deepening of cooperation in all spheres.

2. The CPCz will contribute to the utmost to the implementation of the conclusions of the International Consultation of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1969. It will effectively participate in every initiative aimed at strengthening the action unity of the Communist movement. At the same time it will wage an implacable struggle with rightist revisionism and opportunism. In harmony with

its internationalist position. It will also continue consistently with its principled criticism of the contemporary theories and practice of the present leadership of the CP of China, which damage the cause of socialism and the world communist movement. Nevertheless, it presumes that in the interests of the cause of socialism and of our peoples and all the States of the socialist community, a normalization of relations between the CSSR and the People's Republic of China along State lines, would be desirable. In accord with other fraternal parties, we are of the opinion that broad international meetings of communists should become a permanent practice in the communist movement.

The Congress positively evaluates the fact that it has good comradely relations with the overwhelming majority of communist and workers' parties. We shall strengthen these internationalist bonds further. As hitherto we will further support the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries in their struggles against the rule of the monopolies, and for the rights and just demands of the working class. We will give our full support to the efforts of the communist and revolutionary democratic parties of the young national States of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their fight to overcome the unfavourable social and economic heritage of colonialism, their dependence on imperialism, and in their struggle against neo-colonialist exploitation. We shall extend all-round assistance to the struggle for national liberation of the still subjugated nations.

3. We are fully determined, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, to continue our assistance to the Vietnamese people and to the nations of Indochina in their brave fight against American aggression. We fully support the well-known proposals of the Government of the Vietnamese Democratic Republic and of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam aimed at the establishment of a just peace in this region.

We stand by the United Arab Republic and the other Arab States in their just struggle for the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression, for the return of the occupied Arab territories and for the assertion of the just demands of the Palestinian people. We consider the fulfilment of all the demands contained in the resolution of the United Nations Security Council of November 1967, to be a realistic way of re-establishing peace in this area.

4. The nations of the CSSR have a vital interest in the maintaining of peace in Europe. That is why we shall further continue to support actively the idea of a conference on European security and co-operation. We consider the conclusion of treaties between the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany and between the Polish People's

Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to represent a significant contribution towards improving the political atmosphere in Europe. A lasting task of Czechoslovak foreign policy remains the all-round support for the German Democratic Republic in its claim for full international legal recognition.

We shall continue to try to normalize relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic of Germany. We hope however, that the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, for its part, too, will show good will and recognize the invalidity of the Munich agreement from the very outset with all the consequences ensuing from this. This justified claim on the part of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic ensues from the irrefutable fact that the Munich agreement was a crime committed against Czechoslovakia.

The Congress again confirms the convinced determination of our Party and State to further develop political, economic, and cultural contacts with all capitalist countries in the spirit of Lenin's policy of peaceful co-existence, mindful at the same time of the principles of equality and mutual advantage. At the same time we shall do our best to develop the militant unity of all world revolutionary anti-imperialist forces, to support their common activities against the growing tendency to expansion of international imperialism, especially on the part of the aggressive circles of the United States.

We shall actively support the implementation of the peace programme of the Soviet Union, which was expressed in the foreign policy line laid down by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, and which is in harmony with our State and national interests.

5. The Congress enjoins the Central Committee to insist on the adoption of an initiatory and creative approach by the organs of foreign policy in implementing the line given, so that it takes into account the full coordination of the work of all components in this sphere, and exercises an effective uniform political control of international relations. It will also be necessary to win new cadres for the foreign service and, in their selection, to see to it that, alongside their professional ability, their political and moral profile and devotion to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism be the decisive criterion.

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The 14th Congress of the Party has deliberated with a sense of responsibility and taken decisions on the fundamental questions of the further development of our socialist society. The path it outlines in its conclusions aims at a higher level of political, economic and

cultural upsurge on the part of our socialist society, at a full socialist life for the people, at strengthening the international authority of the CSSR.

It will be a task for us communists, in particular, unified, and firmly step by step with all the working people of our country, to transform the Congress conclusions into deeds. We are pledged to this by the revolutionary bequest of the 50 years' history of our Party, the greatness of our ideas and membership in the organized political vanguard of the working class and working people.

May we always keep in mind that the strength of our Party has lain and will always lie in unity, in fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, and in firm ties with the working people. May we always be aware of the fact that the successes achieved and the future certainties of our road are pre-determined by our faithful alliance with the first socialist country of the world — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Many struggles, trials and sacrifices were necessary for socialism to become a reality in Czechoslovakia. Crossing the threshold of the half-century's existence of the Party, we enter with certainty and determination upon the coming years, in which demanding work on the road towards the full prospering of the socialist life of our people awaits us. In this we shall be guided by the wise advice of V. I. Lenin, that progress in socialist construction "depends above all on our not being satisfied with what we know, with what we have previously learned, but on our proceeding further at all costs, on our setting ourselves ever greater and greater demands, on our passing unconditionally from easier tasks to more difficult ones".

The 14th Congress of the CPCz appeals to all our citizens, workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia to do their best to contribute by their work and social activity to the implementation of the tasks of the development of our socialist society.

Along the Leninist way towards the further development of our socialist homeland!

CONTENTS

Ludvík Svoboda, Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPCz and President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	
Inaugural Speech	5
Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the CC of the CPCz	
Report on the Activities of the Party and the Development of Society since the 13th Congress of the CPCz and other Tasks of the Party	7
Miloš Jakeš, Chairman of the CCAC of the CPCz	
Report of the Central and Auditing Commission	83
Lubomír Štrougal, Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPCz and Prime Minister of the Federal Government of the Republic	
Main Trends of the Economic Policy of the CPCz for the years 1971—1975	105
L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU and the Leader of the CPSU Delegation	
Speech of Welcome	147
Gustáv Husák, General Secretary of the CC of the CPCz	
Closing Speech	157
Resolution of the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia	163

XV.th CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA
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